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# LONGINUS ON THE SUBLIME



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# LONGINUS ON THE SUBLIME

THE GREEK TEXT EDITED AFTER THE PARIS  
MANUSCRIPT

WITH

*INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, FACSIMILES  
AND APPENDICES*

By

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**DISCIPVLVS**



## PREFACE

*It is 60 years since the publication of the last English edition of Longinus on the Sublime. The edition of D. B. Hickie appeared in 1836, having had many English predecessors, not the least interesting of which was that published more than a century earlier (in 1724) by Zachary Pearce, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor.*

*An editor who resumes the task to-day finds that, if he takes due account of the investigations of continental scholars, he will probably seem to be issuing not so much a new edition as a new book. The application to this treatise (as to other remains of classical antiquity) of the scientific method has not only produced an altered text, but has changed our entire conception of the scope of the work and of its historical background. Some appearance of paradox is the inevitable result. The modern editor must devote the two halves of his Introduction to a criticism of the traditional title of the book. He must challenge the ascription and explain the description. He must point out that the author is probably **not** the historical Longinus, while the subject is **not** 'the Sublime' in the ordinary acceptance of that term.*

*In view of many prevalent misconceptions, an attempt has been made in the Introduction (pp. 23—37) to indicate the spirit in which the author of the treatise approaches those*

*questions of style and literary criticism with which he is chiefly concerned. His book is so happily conceived that professed students of Greek literature will find it most interesting and suggestive, while men of letters generally may perhaps judge it worthy of a place on the shelves of that Library for Critics which it is sometimes said that every modern writer might do well to form. It is not difficult to imagine that a man of literary tastes who had never chanced to read the book would be pleasantly surprised were he to open it. He might possibly expect to find a dry philosophical disquisition on sublimity in the more exalted sense of the term. Instead of this, he would discover a very fresh and living book in which a genial Greek critic discourses to a young Roman friend, or pupil, on those problems of literary criticism and of style which Greek literature freely suggested now that it was studied (as it were) from outside. He would find that he had before him quite an anthology, culled from the Greek writers, of choice passages in prose and verse, together with some specimens of faulty or vicious style. He would observe that the critic makes and applies his selections much in the same way as does Matthew Arnold in our own day. Matthew Arnold's method has, as we all know, been attacked; but subjective as it is, it cannot fail to be interesting and instructive when employed by a master with whom criticism is, to use the words of the treatise, 'the last and crowning fruit of long experience.' And the actual judgments which these two mature literary critics of the ancient and the modern world pronounce are remarkably and reassuringly similar owing to the fact that, in their maturity, they have both arrived at the conclusion that the test of really great literature is its ὑψος, or (in Matthew Arnold's words) 'the high seriousness which comes from absolute sincerity.'*

*The reader of literary tastes to whom reference has just been*

*made will, it is hoped, find the present edition of some service to him. It has been planned in a somewhat novel way in order that those who so desire may confine themselves to the text only or to the text and translation only, while those who require further help may find it (by means of the indices or otherwise) in the introduction or the appendices, where it is offered separately and in an ordered form. With regard to the book generally, the editor can only express the hope that something like the due balance has been maintained as between the literary and the scientific side of his work; that the frequent quotations from foreign authorities may be excused as proper in themselves and as giving incidentally that air of cosmopolitanism which is so appropriate to the treatise; that the text possesses at least the merit of close adherence to the best surviving manuscript; and that the translation may be exact enough to serve to some extent in place of a formal commentary, while it may also to some extent suggest the tone and manner of the original.*

*It may be permissible to add that this edition has been in preparation for some years in connexion with a larger undertaking,—A History of Greek Literary Criticism, or An Account of the Literary Opinions of the Greeks during the Classical, the Alexandrian, and the Graeco-Roman Periods. With a view to the better accomplishment of this undertaking, the editor has, he may mention, prepared a number of preliminary literary-historical studies (one of which he has published) of Greek life at various epochs and at various centres both within and beyond Greece itself,—centres such as Boeotia, Sicily, Alexandria, Rome. For published articles of his own which bear upon the book now edited, he desires to refer to the Bibliographical Appendix, p. 257.*

*The Bibliography forms a record of the editor's obligations to his predecessors in the same field. But special and personal*



*thanks are due to his colleague Mr E. V. Arnold, and to his former colleague Mr G. B. Mathews, for kind and valuable assistance rendered while the book has been passing through the press.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*The whole of the verse translations in this volume (with the exception of the late Mr J. A. Symonds' rendering of the Ode of Sappho) are from the hand of Mr A. S. Way. Mr Way has generously allowed the use not only of his published versions of Homer and Euripides but also of his unpublished versions of Aeschylus and Sophocles. And more than that, he has specially translated for this edition the remaining lines which occur in the treatise. For this accumulated kindness the editor feels that he is indebted to Mr Way in no ordinary measure.*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES,  
BANGOR.

January 17, 1899.

*Some changes of detail have been made in the second edition. But in substance the book remains the same; and I have seen no reason to withdraw or modify my views upon the vexed question of Authorship.*

W. R. R.

THE UNIVERSITY,  
LEEDS.

August 21, 1907.

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[illegible]





## INTRODUCTION.

### I. AUTHORSHIP OF THE TREATISE.

When Francis Robortello at Basle, in the year 1554, issued the *editio princeps* of the Greek Treatise on the Sublime, he attributed the work to 'Dionysius Longinus.' Διονυσίου Λογγίνου ῥήτορος περὶ ὕψους βιβλίον are the words found upon his title-page. In this ascription he was followed by Paul Manutius, who in the next year (1555) published an edition at Venice. The fashion thus set by the earliest editors became universal. Edition followed edition in quick succession, and translations made the book known in almost every European country. But in every issue of text or rendering Longinus was assumed to be the author. It was the same with the foremost critics and writers of France and of England. Boileau was in this matter at one with the rest of the translators. His acquiescence in the general view was shared by Fénelon, Rollin, and Laharpe, and in England by Addison, Hume, and Hurd. Pope, in a well-known passage, speaks of the 'bold Longinus,' whose 'own example strengthens all his laws.' And even the severely scientific Gibbon refers, with some hesitation possibly in the choice of the adjective but with no hesitation in the choice of the name, to the 'sublime Longinus.'

An ascription so firmly rooted in the tradition of two centuries was not easily shaken, and even now it finds, here and there, unquestioning acceptance. But since the first doubt was raised at the commencement of the present century, the



tendency of critical opinion has been, with some fluctuations, increasingly adverse to the old view. In the present edition, although the traditional heading appears for the sake of convenience upon the title-page, an endeavour will be made to establish, in the light of the most recent research, two main propositions: (1) that the external evidence in favour of attribution to the historical Longinus is of a highly dubious character, and (2) that the internal evidence seems to point to the first century rather than the third as the period within which the treatise was probably written. In presenting the facts under the two headings *A. External Evidence*, and *B. Internal Evidence*, it will be convenient in each case to treat first of the negative indications (viz. arguments drawn from silence, from omissions, etc.), and afterwards of the positive.

#### *A.—EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.*

(a) **NEGATIVE.** It is a remarkable fact that the Treatise on the Sublime is not quoted or mentioned by any writer of antiquity. So complete is the silence with regard to it that some have conjectured that it was written for private circulation only. Publication, they think, was deliberately avoided by its author, who was influenced either by modesty or by prudential motives. Its epistolary form may possibly be held to give some colour to this view<sup>1</sup>. At all events, the obscurity which surrounded it until it was printed was great, as great as its subsequent celebrity. The silence extends—and this brings us face to face with the problem before us—to those lists of the works of Longinus which we owe to Porphyry, Suidas, and others. The *De Sublimitate* is not by any of these authorities mentioned among the writings of Longinus, and the omission is the more striking that the treatise is no ordinary one. The seriousness of the difficulty has long been recognised by those who have regarded Longinus as the author. But the ingenuity of scholars has, as usual, proved equal to the occasion. They suggest that the *περὶ ὕψους*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. G. Buchenau, *De Scriptore Libri Περὶ Ὑψους*, p. 66, and A. Jannarakis, *Εἰς τὸ Περὶ Ὑψους λεγόμενον βιβλίον Κριτικαὶ Σημειώσεις*, p. 8.

formed part of οἱ φιλόλογοι (or αἱ φιλόλογοι ὁμιλῖαι, as the title is also given), one of the attested works of Longinus. But while the possibility of this explanation cannot be denied, it should be remarked that it does not find any very obvious support in the character of the surviving fragments of οἱ φιλόλογοι, or in the character of the περὶ ὕψους itself. The latter, to all appearance, occupies a position of its own as a polemical essay directed against the work of a writer who is named in its opening sentence. It may be added that in certain passages (viii. 1, xxxix. 1, xlv. 12) of the *De Sublimitate* the author seems to intimate that he had written, or intended to write, about Xenophon, about composition (σύνθεσις λόγων), and about the passions (τὰ πάθη); but these subject-headings, also, fail to appear in the lists of the works of Longinus.

(β) POSITIVE. The absence of the treatise from the accredited lists of Longinus' works, although it was felt to require explanation, caused no great uneasiness till the beginning of this century (1808), when the Italian scholar Amati made an important discovery. He found that a Vatican MS. (no. 285) of the *De Sublimitate* contained the following inscription: Διονυσίου ἡ Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους. Hitherto it had been taken for granted (by Robortello himself, no doubt, as well as by those who followed him) that all the manuscripts attributed the book to 'Dionysius Longinus'; it was disconcerting, therefore, to find that one of them indicated 'Dionysius or Longinus' as the author. But this was not all. Once curiosity had been aroused by Amati, another discovery followed. It was found that the same alternative was offered by the Paris MS. 2036, which dates from the tenth century and is beyond comparison the best of the existing codices of the *De Sublimitate*. True, the other title was also given in that MS.; but the new point noticed was that, immediately after the index of the 'Physical Problems of Aristotle,' the words Διονυσίου ἡ Λογγίνου occurred. They occurred also, it was found, in MS. 985 of the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>1</sup>. And

<sup>1</sup> The present editor has recently had an opportunity of examining P. 2036 and P. 985 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In P. 2036 the περὶ ὕψους follows the

last of all, it was discovered (and for this final discovery we return from France to Italy) that a manuscript at Florence had, as the inscription on its cover, *ἀνωνύμου περὶ ὕψους*. The most surprising thing, perhaps, about all this new information, was that it had not been obtained earlier. But the treatise was so implicitly believed to be the work of Longinus that any hints to the contrary passed almost unheeded. Indeed, the variation in Codex Parisinus 2036 had been noted, a considerable time before Amati announced his discovery in the Vatican Library, by the German scholar Rostgaard; but nothing came of Rostgaard's observation.

However, once it had been fairly opened, the question could not again be closed. A wide field for speculation was presented. The names of 'Longinus' and 'Dionysius,' without further specification, lent themselves to numerous conjectures. And even if, as seemed most probable, the names were to be understood of their two most famous bearers in the literary domain, the uncertainty became, in reality, not less but greater. For when a free choice is allowed between two men who stand more than a couple of centuries apart, we feel justified in conjecturing that we have before us nothing more than the guess of some late Byzantine authority who was himself in doubt and therefore named, alternatively, the two

Problems of Aristotle which occupy the greater part of the manuscript. The Problems are prefaced by an index or table of contents (forming fol. 1, *r.* and *v.*). At the end of the index are added the words :

+ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ Η ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΥ Π <sup>Ε</sup>ΥΨΟΥΣ +

At the beginning of the text of the treatise the heading is :

+ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΥΨΟΥΣ : +

This title is distinguished from the other by the absence of the *η*, but it is also distinguished (and this appears to have escaped even Vahlen's careful scrutiny) from it by the fact that a considerable space separates the first word from the second and the second from the third, while the third and fourth are run together. It would almost seem as if (notwithstanding the absence of the *η*) the reader were still offered his choice between Dionysius and Longinus. The same absence and presence of the *η*, and the same separation and non-separation, are to be observed in P. 985, on f. 222 *v.* (beginning of the treatise) and f. 79 *v.* (index) respectively. The facsimile specimens of P. 2036 which have been inserted in this edition give a more exact representation of the two titles.

most eminent critics known to him<sup>1</sup>. On this interpretation, the title might have run, as some one has suggested, *Διονυσίου ἢ Δογγίνου ἢ ἄλλου τινός*. It might, in fact, have been compressed into a single word, the *ἄνωνύμου* of the Codex Laurentianus.

And here, while the question of the name or names found in the manuscripts is under review, it may be pointed out that the traditional ascription of the treatise to Longinus had been felt to present a special difficulty on the score of nomenclature. But the difficulty, instead of encouraging a healthy scepticism, had led once more to a display of that ready ingenuity which is certainly no less characteristic of the conservative than of the innovator. The full name of Zenobia's minister, as given by more than one ancient authority, was Cassius Longinus. How, then, account for 'Dionysius Longinus,' which at best is a somewhat rare combination of a Greek and a Latin name? The answer was ready to hand. Longinus in his youth had borne the Greek name of Dionysius, but later he adopted that of Cassius Longinus, in honour of some powerful Roman patron of that name: his full and proper designation, therefore, was Dionysius Cassius Longinus. And that designation he bore until the discovery of the real inscription came to remind those interested in the matter that there were absolutely no facts upon which to base this elaborate theory.

It has already been said that the Treatise on the Sublime is not quoted or mentioned by 'any writer of antiquity.' From that statement there is no occasion to recede; but before we leave the consideration of the external evidence, allusion should be made to certain passages from an external source which have sometimes been supposed to show a knowledge of the book. The source in question is the commentator John of Sicily (*Ἰωάννης Σικελιώτης*). The references which

<sup>1</sup> H. Usener (*Rheinisches Museum*, xxviii. 412) has adduced a Byzantine passage which is much to the point: *ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς τὸ ταπεινὸν ὑψηλῶς φράσαιμεν <ἂν> καὶ τὸ ἀμελῶς κατευγλωττισμένον, καὶ τῷ γοργῷ τὸ ἀνειμένον συμμύξαιμεν καὶ τὴν χάριν τῷ διηρμένῳ πρὸς μέγεθος; καὶ τί ποιήσαιμεν πρὸς τὰς κρίσεις Δογγίνου, πρὸς τὸ Διονυσίου πολυμαθές, πρὸς τὸ εὐφυνὲς Ἑρμογένους τοῦ Κίλικος*; (Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.*, iii. 159, 4).

John of Sicily has been thought to make to the treatise are vague and disputable. But even if we were to assume for the sake of argument that they were definite and unmistakable, they would be of little importance; and for this reason. The date assigned by Walz to John of Sicily is the thirteenth century. Now, as we have seen, the Paris MS. 2036 of the *De Sublimitate* is supposed to belong to the tenth century. Accordingly John may have drawn any ideas he entertained with regard to the authorship of the treatise from that manuscript of it. He cannot, therefore, be safely regarded as in any sense an original and independent authority<sup>1</sup>.

#### B.—INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

(a) NEGATIVE. The treatise on the Sublime abounds in references to Greek authors and in quotations from them. Catholic alike in praise and blame, it ranges the centuries for its illustrations of good style or of bad. Bards of the pre-historic days of Greece, writers of its Attic prime, erudite poets of the Alexandrian era, rhetoricians of the Augustan age,—all figure in its pages. But notwithstanding the great number of its references to writings of an earlier date, the Treatise (or so much of it as we now possess) makes no mention of any rhetorician, philosopher, or other writer belonging to the second or to the third century A.D. Here again the supporters of the traditional view that Cassius Longinus was the author are confronted by a grave difficulty. The gap is a truly remarkable one. How comes it that no reference is made to the rhetorician Hermogenes, who flourished during the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and whose shortcomings (rather than those of Caecilius) might have provided an opening for a book? How is it that

<sup>1</sup> How precarious these arguments connected with John of Sicily are may be inferred from the fact that Émile Egger, who urged them in the first edition of his *Histoire de la Critique chez les Grecs* (pp. 531–533), silently abandons them in his second edition and in the *Journal des Savants* (Mai 1884). Further details, if desired, may be found in Vaucher, *Études Critiques sur le Traité du Sublime*, pp. 57, 58, 62, 63, and in Canna, *Della Sublimità: libro attribuito a Cassio Longino*, pp. 39, 40.

Longinus, who was the centre of a wide circle, makes no mention of his companions in the schools or of his friends? How is it, lastly and above all, that he makes no mention of his enemies, some of whom presumably had written books? For, granted that his taste may have been too fastidious to find examples of excellence in the writings of his contemporaries or of his more immediate predecessors, yet the task he set himself was the exemplification not only of the elevated manner but also of its opposite. And to go back for instances of defective style to Alexandrian times or to a period earlier still, instead of attacking living offenders, would have entailed the sacrifice of much obvious point and piquancy.

(β) POSITIVE. The internal evidence of a positive character is various in its nature and unequal in its value. It will be convenient to examine first that portion of it which relates to the names of persons. The evidential bearings of the *prosopographia*, so to say, of the treatise are considerable.

I. PROSOPOGRAPHIA. Under this head let us, following the example of the author in his book, start with Caecilius.

(1) *Caecilius*. The book opens thus: τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κεκιλίου συγγραμμάτιον, ὃ περὶ ὕψους συνετάξατο, ἀνασκοπούμενοις ἡμῖν ὡς οἶσθα κοινῇ, Ποστούμιε † Φλωρεντιανὲ φίλτατε, ταπεινότερον ἐφάνη τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως, κ.τ.λ. It is clear from these words that Caecilius had composed an essay on the sublime, and that our author is dissatisfied with it. Now Caecilius was a rhetorician contemporary with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, of whom in fact he was a close friend<sup>1</sup>. The question, therefore, arises whether it is probable that in the third century a writer would follow, so closely as our author appears to do, the treatment which his chosen subject had met with in the reign of Augustus. To such a question, as to other similar questions here propounded, one who entertains the gravest doubts as to the third-century authorship will nevertheless think it fair to reply that, though not likely, it is not

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars reference may be made to the Literary Appendix under *Caecilius*.

impossible. For, to borrow an illustration from another field, did not seventy years pass before a reply was made, by Origen, to the *True Word* of Celsus? And on the fiery battle-ground of religious controversy one might expect that polemic would know no lengthy pause. A treatise need not, therefore, follow very closely in the train of one that suggested it. But on the other hand it cannot be denied that this particular treatise is written with all the earnestness and ardour of a writer who is refuting the errors of a contemporary or a near predecessor. Hermogenes might have provoked a third-century antagonist to this display of zeal, but hardly Caecilius.

(2) *Moses*. Moses is not expressly named in the *De Sublimitate*, but he is unambiguously indicated in the well-known words of c. ix. 9. It is sometimes contended that the reference to Moses tells in precisely the opposite direction to the mention of Caecilius; it makes the third century more likely than the first. But even if this be admitted (and we can hardly admit any implication that such a reference to Genesis is out of the question in a Graeco-Roman author of the first century), there is still open to us the plausible suggestion that we should seek a connecting link in Caecilius himself. The author of the *De Sublimitate* may have had no direct knowledge of the Old Testament, but may have drawn this illustration from the tractate of Caecilius, who was 'in faith a Jew<sup>1</sup>.' The fact that the citation is not an exact one may be held, so far, to confirm the conjecture.

(3) *Ammonius*. At one time the occurrence in the treatise of this name seemed not only to supply a definite post-Augustan reference, but also to create a strong presumption that Longinus was the author. For it is recorded of Longinus that when a young man he had travelled widely, and that at Alexandria he had attended the classes of the leading Neoplatonists, and among them of Ammonius surnamed Saccas. But Ammonius, standing by itself, was, as F. A. Wolf cautiously observed, not an uncommon name, and identification must not be too hasty; further inquiry must be made before Ammonius Saccas, or any other Ammonius, was supposed necessarily to

<sup>1</sup> Reference may be made to the Literary Appendix—under *Moses*.

be meant. Some time after this useful word of warning and exhortation had been dropped, G. Roeper made an interesting discovery which he communicated in the year 1846 to the first volume of Schneidewin and Leutsch's *Philologus*. Searching the Venice scholia to the Iliad, he found that an earlier Ammonius, a successor of Aristarchus at Alexandria, had written *περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος μετενηνεγμένων ἐξ Ὀμήρου*<sup>1</sup>. These words accord so well with the reference to Ammonius in the *De Sublimitate* (xiii. 3) that there can be little, if any, doubt that this is the Ammonius in question.

(4) *Theodorus*. Theodorus is mentioned in the third chapter: 'A third, and closely allied, kind of defect in matters of passion is that which Theodorus used to call *parenthyrsus*<sup>2</sup>.' Here the imperfect tense (*ἐκάλει*) may possibly imply that the writer had attended the lectures of this Theodorus, who can hardly be other than Theodorus of Gadara (or 'of Rhodes,' as he preferred to be called), who taught rhetoric to the emperor Tiberius, and who is often quoted by Quintilian<sup>3</sup>. The way in which his name is introduced, without further preface or addition, seems to imply that its bearer was a recent, and (like Theodorus of Gadara) a well-known authority.

(5) *Cicero*. The treatise contains (xii. 4) a set comparison between Cicero and Demosthenes, introduced by the words: 'And it is in these same respects, my dear Terentianus, that it seems to me (supposing always that we as Greeks are allowed to have an opinion upon the point) that Cicero differs from Demosthenes in elevated passages. For the latter is

<sup>1</sup> SCHOL. A HOMERI IL. IX. 540: *ἔρδεσκεν Ἀμμώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος μετενηνεγμένων ἐξ Ὀμήρου διὰ τοῦ ζ' προφέρεται ἔρξεν*. SUIDAS: *Ἀμμώνιος Ἀμμωνίου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Ἀλεξάνδρου γνώριμος, ὃς καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολὴν Ἀριστάρχου πρὸ τοῦ μοναρχήσαι τὸν Αἰγυπτίον*.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 5: *τούτῳ παράκειται τρίτον τι κακίας εἶδος ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς, ὅπερ ὁ Θεόδωρος παρένθυρσον ἐκάλει*.

<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, *Inst. Or.*, iii. 1, 17: 'Theodorus Gadareus, qui se dici maluit Rhodium, quem studiose audisse, cum in eam insulam secessisset, dicitur Tiberius Caesar.' Suetonius, *Tib.*, 57: 'saeva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit: quam Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricae praeceptor et perspexisse primus sagaciter et assimilasse aptissime visus est, subinde in obiurgando appellans eum *πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον*.'



characterised by sublimity which is for the most part rugged, Cicero by profusion,' etc. We are not concerned here with the substance of this comparison ; its main interest for us lies in the fact that it was instituted at all. With regard to its bearing upon the date of composition, two considerations present themselves : (1) references to Cicero in the Greek rhetoricians are excessively rare, and it would be hard to find a parallel to this passage of the *De Sublimitate* in any extant Greek work ; (2) the passage had not only a parallel, but a precedent, in the lost dissertation (*συγγραμμάτιον*) of Caecilius. Plutarch is our authority for the statement that 'the all-accomplished Caecilius.....had the temerity to publish a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero<sup>1</sup>.'

(6) *Terentianus*. About the identification of the Terentianus to whom the treatise is addressed, and whose name occurs in the passage just quoted and in several others, it will be convenient to inquire a little later.

(7) *Πυγμαῖοι, Κολοσσός, Πυθία*. Lastly, a few miscellaneous names may be added to the personal names already given. The Pygmies are referred to in a curious passage of c. xliv., where the pertinent point is that the exhibition of them seems to be regarded by the author as a novelty (*εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο πιστὸν ἀκούω* xliv. 5). This would, it appears, apply best to the period of the early Caesars ; afterwards the thing became more common. But manifestly an argument of this nature cannot be pressed. The gaps in our information are too formidable to allow us to draw, without hesitation, such inferences as the one just suggested, or the allied one that the author must have been living at a distance from the capital when he wrote the passage. Still more precarious are any arguments based on 'the faulty Colossus' (xxxvi. 3), or on the Pythia (xiii. 2). It has been maintained that by 'the faulty Colossus' must be meant, not the Colossus of Rhodes, but that of Nero, which was renovated under Vespasian ; and it has been pointed out that the Pythian priestess ceased to give oracles under Domitian, resumed her activity under Hadrian,

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Demosth.* 3 : ὁ περὶ τὸς ἐν ᾧ πασι Κεκίλιος...ἐνεανιεύσατο σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐξεργεῖν.

and became finally silent under Caracalla. Pieces of evidence so indecisive as these are added rather in the hope of making the review complete than of supporting any special thesis<sup>1</sup>.

II. STYLE AND VOCABULARY. Arguments drawn from style and vocabulary are notoriously insecure, and to be of any value at all they must be based upon an adequate analysis, such as will more conveniently find a place in the Linguistic Appendix. Here it need only be said, by way of anticipation and with all due reserve, that a study of its language would seem on the whole to suggest that the book was not produced by Longinus in the third century, but is rather an isolated work of the first century. It is well, however, to lay no special stress on conclusions which, from the nature of the case, are exceedingly tentative and precarious. They are, therefore, mentioned here simply for what they are worth, and with the object of making the most of every possible aid towards the settlement of the problem.

III. GENERAL AFFINITIES. This heading is still more vague than the last. It may nevertheless be useful to inquire whether the writer's habits of thought and intellectual standpoint seem to be those of the first or those of the third century, and with which of the two centuries (as far as we are acquainted with them) he stands in closer literary and spiritual relationship.

His subject is elevation (*ὑψος*) of style, and this, he holds, depends ultimately upon elevation of character. 'Sublimity is the echo of a great soul' (*ὑψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα*, ix. 2). The breadth of view, here displayed and elsewhere prominent, is a distinctive feature of his treatise, and seems, as we shall see in a moment, to ally him rather with the Roman writers of the first century than with any Greek writers whether of the first century or the third.

A word must, however, first be said about the narrower or

<sup>1</sup> Further information on the above points will be found in Buchenau, *De Scriptore Libri Περὶ Τύπου*, pp. 34 ff.; in Vaucher, *Études Critiques*, pp. 55, 56; and in *Hermes* ii. pp. 238, 239 (Otto Jahn).

more scholastic side of the treatise. This offers more obvious—we must again make every allowance for possible defects in our information—points of contact with the Greek and Roman rhetoricians of the first century than with those of the third. In his rhetorical terminology, and it may be added in his literary judgments, the author is distinctly at variance with the views implied in the surviving fragments of Longinus, whereas on a similar book by Caecilius our treatise is in a certain sense based, and it would seem to follow that essay more closely than its combative tone might on a first reading suggest<sup>1</sup>.

Between the *De Sublimitate* and Quintilian, again, the points of resemblance, especially where the rhetorical figures are concerned, are many and unmistakable<sup>2</sup>. So remarkable, indeed, are they that some have thought that both the author and Quintilian must be drawing on Caecilius<sup>3</sup>. But the whole problem of the exact relation in which Caecilius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Quintilian stand to one another and to the *De Sublimitate*, though highly interesting, seems with our present data hopelessly insoluble<sup>4</sup>. The important point at present is to observe the fact of the existence of coincidences afforded by these works, as also by the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, to which treatise reference will be made immediately.

But besides its decided Roman affinities, the treatise sends out its roots in other directions also. That it has points of contact with the Jews has already appeared. But here direct reference may be made to passages in two first-century Graeco-Jewish writers, Josephus and Philo. The passage of Josephus (*Antiqq. Iud.*, ad init.) is: ἤδη τοίνυν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῷ προσανέχειν, καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ ἀξίως κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Vaucher pp. 73-seqq., and Canna pp. 23-26, for Longinus; for Caecilius see the Literary Appendix and the dissertations of Martens and Coblentz named in the Bibliographical Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Vaucher pp. 45 n., 85, 201; Canna pp. 21, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Coblentz pp. 54, 58, 59.

<sup>4</sup> The more we investigate, the more certain we are as to the existence, and the less certain as to the particular origin, of a vast floating mass of literary criticism contained in the rhetorical writings of the first century.

That of Philo (*De Ebrietate*, 198 ; vol. ii., p. 208, in Cohn and Wendland's edition, 1896-97) is: ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τεθαύμακα, εἰ πεφορημένος καὶ μιγὰς ὄχλος, ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων τῶν ὅπως οὖν εἰσηγμένων ἀκλεῆς δοῦλος, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔτι σπαργάνων ὑπακούειν ὥς ἂν δεσποτῶν ἢ τυράννων ἐκμαθὼν, κατακεκονδυλισμένος τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος, πιστεύει τοῖς ἅπαξ παραδοθείσι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐάσας ἀγύμναστον ἀδιερευνητοῖς καὶ ἀνεξετάστοις συναινέσεσσι τε καὶ ἀρνήσεσσι χρήται. If these two passages be compared, the first with *De Subl.* ix. 9, and the second with *De Subl.* xlv. 3, 4, the close parallelism will assuredly cause surprise. But of course such parallelisms do not furnish any demonstration of a first-century authorship; on the contrary, they would be consistent with the claims of the historical Longinus. The same may be said of certain resemblances between the treatise and the writings of Plutarch, resemblances which often have their origin in a common admiration of Plato. Traces of Stoicism, also, or of Alexandrian influences, are in themselves little to go upon; nor can we safely build an argument upon the analogies drawn from the realm of art with which the treatise (cp. xvii. 2, xxxvi. 3) illustrates and enforces its literary precepts, though we are at liberty to point out that such analogies are very frequently employed by writers of the first century<sup>1</sup>.

More is perhaps to be expected from an examination of those speculations with regard to the causes of the decline of eloquence which are found in c. xlv. of the treatise. If that remarkable chapter is read with care, its drift becomes plain. The decline of eloquence, it is intimated, may be traced to the decay of liberty, or it may be traced to the spread of wealth and luxury. The lament of liberty appears (so some have thought) to be uttered with a certain timidity, and is placed in another's mouth. It seems to be implied more than once that the servitude may be a just servitude<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For these analogies reference may be made to E. Bertrand, *De Pictura et Sculptura apud Veteres Rhetores*, and to the appendix to Brzoska's dissertation *De Canone Decem Oratorum Atticorum Quaestiones*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Longinus was forced to enervate them (sc. his noble ideas as to liberty),

But the main point is that the lament should be made at all. Anything of the kind will hardly be found in similar writings subsequent to the first century—in Lucian, or Aristeides, or Maximus of Tyre. In the first century, on the other hand, the topic was a commonplace (ἐκεῖνο τὸ θρυλούμενον, xliv. 2) of Roman literature, and as such doubtless it is reflected in our treatise<sup>1</sup>.

Much the same may be said of the reference to the evil influence of riches. With ἡδὴ νοσοῦμεν in xliv. 6 Cobet aptly compares Livy's 'nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere.' It is doubtful whether Longinus could have so written of his contemporaries as the author does in the words which (xliv. 9) follow those just quoted. As Cobet asks, 'Num Longinus aut Graeci aut Syri accipiebant pecuniam ob rem iudicandam aut mortibus alienis inhiabant aut malis artibus heredipetarum utebantur? Romana haec sunt vitia et flagitia<sup>2</sup>.'

### CONCLUSION.

We take it, then, that in the Treatise we hear the voice of a dying liberty, not of a liberty long since dead. We seem to catch the accents of a Tacitus. Those words ἀπασαν δουλείαν, κὰν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, timidly uttered though they may possibly be, recall the bitter sarcasm of the *Annals* (vi. 8): 'tibi summum rerum iudicium di dedere; nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.' The phrase ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰρήνη reminds us

not only by the term δικαιοσύνη, which he takes care to apply twice to the present despotism; but by employing the stale pretence of putting his own thoughts into the mouth of a nameless philosopher.' Edward Gibbon, *Journal*, October 25, 1762.

<sup>1</sup> For various references to the degeneracy and its causes, see Seneca, *Ep.* 114; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiv. 1; Plin. iun. *Ep.* viii. 14; Tac. *Dial. de Orat.* xxix. xxxvi. xxxvii.; Vell. Paterc. *Hist. Rom.* i. 17; Petronius, *Satyr.* lxxxviii.; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* ii. 10, 3 seqq. Quintilian further wrote a separate treatise, now lost, on the decay of prose composition, *De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae*: cp. A. Reuter, *De Quintiliani libro qui fuit De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae*, Vratislaviae, 1887.

<sup>2</sup> *Mnemosyne*, N.S., vii. 421.

of the *Dialogus* (xxxviii.): 'postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxima principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat<sup>1</sup>.'

The parallelism, seen not in the point just mentioned only but in many others, between the *Dialogus* and the *De Sublimitate*, might well form the subject of a separate inquiry. The opening sentence of the *Dialogus* breathes the very tone and spirit of the Treatise on the Sublime: 'Saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem temporum disertis causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur.' Both inquirers—both the Roman and the Greek—agree in the answer they would give to this question: they hold that the literary decline is due to deep-seated moral causes. It is this elevation of view that raises their works so far above the standpoint of the ordinary handbooks of rhetoric.

Among minor and more accidental points of resemblance may be reckoned the fact that both books have been preserved in a more or less fragmentary form, and that both alike lay for centuries in complete obscurity without a hint, from any quarter, of their existence. Possibly both were intended for private (perhaps for secret) circulation rather than for publication in the ordinary way. Around both, again, an extensive controversy with regard to authorship has arisen, but with marked differences in its circumstances and its results. The manuscript ascription of the *Dialogus* to Tacitus is definite and unimpeachable. The book was, therefore, naturally included in the editio princeps of Tacitus' then known works, that issued by Vendelin de Spira at Venice in 1470. The great attack upon its authenticity was made by Justus Lipsius a century later, an attack resting principally (like those which have followed it) upon grounds of style. But although

<sup>1</sup> Compare also chapters xxxvi., xxxvii., *ibid.*

scepticism began much earlier in the case of the *Dialogus* than in that of the *De Sublimitate*, the Tacitean ascription has fared better than the Longinian. For while a few critics still suspend their judgment, the majority (and among them its latest editors in America and England, Gudeman and Peterson) hold that the *Dialogue* is an early work of Tacitus. With the *De Sublimitate* it is, as we have seen, otherwise. The claims of Longinus are upheld by few. And although the evidence is not absolutely conclusive, we must perforce admit that the balance inclines strongly in favour of the first century and against the third. The equivocal testimony of the manuscripts; the absence of direct references in ancient authors; the names included in the treatise or absent from it; the writer's affinities in style, in thought, and in general standpoint; such considerations, when taken singly, cause hesitation, and when taken together raise the most serious doubts as to the truth of the traditional view.

The alternative—the highly probable alternative—is to regard the first century as the period of composition and an unknown author as the writer. An 'unknown author,' because the various attempts at identification have failed to carry conviction; they still remain conjectures, nothing more. With regard to *Longinus*, indeed, the issue is the simple one of the adoption or rejection of a single claimant, no other Longinus than the Longinus of history having been at any time suggested as a possible author of the treatise. It is different with *Dionysius*, the optional name given in the manuscript inscription. This name has produced a plentiful crop of guesses: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aelius Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dionysius Atticus of Pergamus, Dionysius of Miletus. But the claims advanced on behalf of these writers are advanced either without evidence or in the face of evidence. It is the same if the conjectures take a wider range. W. Christ suggests the name of *Theon*, who wrote a treatise *περὶ συντάξεως λόγων*<sup>1</sup>. But this is avowedly pure guesswork. Vaucher's advocacy of *Plutarch*, on the other hand, is supported by much argument and a considerable array of facts. But the

<sup>1</sup> W. Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.* (third edition, 1898), p. 758.

theory is surrounded by so many difficulties of its own that it is now practically abandoned<sup>1</sup>. On the whole it seems best frankly to confess our ignorance, and while recognising the high probability of a first-century authorship to think of the author himself as AVCTOR IGNOTVS. We had best inscribe the work ἈΝΩΝΥΜΟΥ, thus following the reading of the Florence manuscript. This may seem an inconclusive conclusion, but it is the only one at present within our reach, and it is safer to marshal evidence than to propound theories.

But while it is good science to refuse to hazard any conjecture which our information does not warrant, it is good science also to decline to follow some critics in abandoning all hope of ever seeing a solution of this knotty problem. Let us rather recognise that we are confronted with one of those stimulating and fruitful uncertainties which classical research so often presents to its votaries,—uncertainties which are stimulating because there is some possibility of removing them, and fruitful because in any case they lead to the more thorough investigation of the obscurer by-ways of history and literature. Two directions from which light might possibly come in the present case may here be mentioned.

(1) Best of all would be the discovery of a fresh MS. of the *De Sublimitate*, free from the lacunae which at present disfigure the treatise. It is to be remembered that the gaps amount to something like one-third of the whole work, the approximate extent of the loss being ascertainable from the leaves missing in P. 2036. In these lost parts there may have been references which would help to fix more nearly the date of the book. An ounce of definite fact of this kind inspires more confidence than a ton of loose speculation upon supposed variations of style. It is men like Amati and Roeper that

<sup>1</sup> For *Plutarch* reference may be made to Vaucher 93-119; Canna 15, 16; Winkler 19; Brigh. 37. For *Dionys. of Halic.*, see Vaucher 44, 45, 50, 54, 90; Canna 11. *Ael. Dionys. of Halic.*, Vaucher 91; Egger, *Longini quae supersunt*, lvi. *Dionys. Att. of Perg.*, Vaucher 46, 90; Canna 12-14; Pessonneaux 292; Blass, *Griech. Bereds.*, 158. *Dionys. of Miletus*, Vaucher 91; Pess. 292. [Full titles of the books here indicated by the authors' names will, where not already given, be found in the Bibliographical Appendix.]



have really advanced matters, and this because they have kept their eyes open to hard facts within and without the treatise, and have recognised that even the most trivial fact may become luminous and instructive when duly correlated with others. Very welcome, in particular, would be the discovery of any such correspondence between the treatise and some other writing as that coincidence between the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* and Pliny's Epistles which was first noticed by A. G. Lange. In c. ix. of the *Dialogus* occur the words: *adice quod poetis...in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem, secedendum est* (cp. *ibid.* c. xii. ad init.). Lange pointed out that Pliny (Ep. ix. 10), addressing Tacitus and referring to the pursuit of poetry, says *poemata...tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas*. This, though it may not be proof positive, is at least a remarkable resemblance, and one cannot wonder that much is made of it by the supporters of the view that Tacitus wrote the *Dialogus*. Our own problem furnishes, as we have seen, some similar coincidences, but we could wish for something more precise and definite than we at present have. The missing portions of the treatise, should they be discovered, might possibly supply our want. And in view of some pleasant recent surprises, who shall venture to say that such a discovery is an impossibility?

(2) The second possible side-light is the identification of the Terentianus to whom the treatise is addressed<sup>1</sup>. This question deserves, perhaps, a fuller consideration than it has hitherto received.

Let us first collect the particulars as to Terentianus which are provided, directly or indirectly, by the treatise itself. At its commencement he is addressed as Ποστούμιε † Φλωρεντιανέ φίλτατε. The other forms of address have been classified as

<sup>1</sup> In continuation of a parallelism already mentioned, it may be noted that the Fabius Iustus to whom the *Dialogus* is addressed was probably Pliny the Younger's friend, Consul Suffectus in 102 A.D. The person addressed is, therefore, in the one case as well as in the other, a factor in the determination of the date.—Again, a question arises in both cases as to the precise signification of *iuuenis* or *νεανίας*. Tacitus (or whoever the author was) speaks of himself as 'iuuenis admodum' at the time of the Dialogue. In the *De Sublimitate*, on the other hand, it is Terentianus that is addressed in the words ὦ νεανία.

follows in the interesting Swedish edition of Elias Janzon (Upsala, 1894): Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε (xxix. 2; xlv. 1), φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ (xii. 40), Τερεντιανὲ ἡδιστε (i. 4; iv. 3), ὦ νεανία (xv. 1: altered by the editors to ὦ Τερεντιανέ, against the best manuscript authority, and against the usage of the author, who elsewhere couples some endearing epithet with the name Τερεντιανέ), ὦ φίλος (vi.), ὦ ἑταῖρε (xxvi. 2), ἑταῖρε (i. 2; ix. 6; ix. 10), κράτιστε (xxxix. 1), φίλτατε (i. 3; vii. 1; xiii. 2; xvii. 1). It is clear from these expressions that a close friendship existed between the two men. By the form of allocution ὦ νεανία, and by such expressions as ἔνεκα τῆς σῆς χρηστομαθείας in xlv. 1 (cp. the didactic tone of τοῦ μαθεῖν χάριν and ὅπως ἦ σοι γνώριμον in ix. 10 and 15, as well as the words ἀνεγνώκως τὰ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸν τύπον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς in xiii. 1), it may or may not be implied that the two friends stood, or had stood, to one another in the relation of master to pupil; probably it is. Certainly they had examined the work of Caecilius together (i. 1), and they may have been associated in the study of Xenophon (viii. 1). It is, moreover, implied in the treatise that Terentianus was a cultured Roman with some experience of public life (xii. 4; i. 2, 3, 4). The author seems to wish it to be understood that his book consists of jottings only (ὑπομνηματίσασθαι i. 2, ὑπομνήματος xxxvi. 4), and that it is designed specially, if not exclusively, for the delectation of the person to whom it is addressed (i. 2).

The particulars thus collected are interesting, but they cannot be said to be precise. If we chose to designate the author as the AVCTOR AD TERENCEIANVM, that designation would not at present mean anything more than AVCTOR INCERTVS or AVCTOR IGNOTVS. Probably we need fresh material from within or from without the treatise before we can hope for an actual identification. But meanwhile we must make the most of every fragment of evidence we possess. And from this point of view it cannot be considered satisfactory that so little attention should have been paid to the reading of P. 2036 at the beginning of the treatise. P. gives Φλωρεντιανέ, for which the editors, following Manutius, have with one accord substituted Τερεντιανέ, in order to bring the

address into line with those found elsewhere in the treatise. Probably this change is right as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough to account for what, if unexplained, must seem a strange aberration in so excellent a manuscript as P.<sup>1</sup> A possible explanation may be suggested tentatively and with all reserve. It is that, in its original form, the address ran thus: Ποστούμιε Μαῦρε Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε. At a comparatively early period in the history of the text doubt may have arisen as to Μαῦρε, it may have been changed into Φλῶρε, and finally a 'conflation' of Φλῶρε and Τερεντιανὲ may have yielded Φλωρεντιανέ. Μαῦρε might well be doubted on grounds of: (1) rarity, (2) order, (3) superfluity. To take the points one by one. (1) *Rarity*. 'Maurus,' as a personal name or affix, is not common in Latin, and still less common in Greek, where its transliterated form may have been none the more pleasing because of its close resemblance to μῶρος. But the form itself is, of course, well attested both in manuscripts and in inscriptions such as this:—

ΑΜ  
ΜΟΘΟΥ  
ΤΩΖΗ  
89

Μαῦρος Μηζώτρου.

(Kaibel, *Inscrr. Gr. Sic. et It.*, 2412, 31.)

(2) *Order*. The inversion in the order of Τερεντιανέ and Μαῦρε may have caused difficulty to a copyist. But this inversion is not uncommon, in writers of the imperial period at any rate. Incidentally an instance ('Iuste Fabi') has already been quoted from the *Dialogus*, and 'Afro Domitio' may be added from c. xiii. of the same book. In Greek we find instances as early as Dionys. Halic. (e.g. Βάρρων Τέρεντιος = Terentius Varro, *Antiqq. Rom.*, i. 14). The usage is rarer when the praenomen, as well as the nomen and cognomen, is used (the full array of the 'tria nomina' is itself

<sup>1</sup> The exact reading of P. is φλωρεντιανέ. 'φλ puncto notatum ut suspectum,' as the editors say.

rare); but it is hardly unexampled in the Latin of this period. Considerations of rhythm or euphony (to which our author pays great attention) might here suggest the order *Postumius Maurus Terentianus*, the same explanation probably holding good in the case of the Tacitean *Afro Domitio* already quoted. (3) *Superfluity*. A long-suffering scribe would be prone to think that one of these names might easily be spared, and he may therefore have dropped the *Μαῦρε* altogether as some of the MSS. have done, or preserved only a scanty vestige of it in *Φλωρεντιανέ*. But it is possible that our author of set purpose gave the name in full at the commencement of his treatise, and there only; he wished to be specially formal at the beginning. His first sentence, even as it stands, is of an astonishing amplitude, and he would probably have regarded an additional word as an advantage rather than the contrary. Whatever the name may be which has disappeared, —whether it be *Μαῦρε*, or *Φλῶρε*, or *Φλώρης*, or *Φλωρεντίνε*, or *Φλ.* = (*Φλάβιε* or *Φλαούιε*),—it may confidently be conjectured that *some* name has been lost, and that this is the key to the reading of the best MSS. For it must be remembered that they show no variation when *Τερεντιανέ* occurs, as it does occur five several times, in other passages of the treatise.

If the name lost were assumed to be *Μαῦρε*, then it would be easy to go one step further and to suggest the identification of the person actually addressed with Terentianus Maurus, the writer on prosody. But this is to embark on still more precarious speculations. The practical point is that, whether or no the Terentianus of the *De Sublimitate* has any direct connexion with Terentianus Maurus and with Africa, we shall not fail to notice that the writer of the Treatise has some points of contact with Alexandria. In certain respects the Nile (to which he refers with admiration) seems to be nearer to him than Rome itself. He sometimes writes as if, when writing, he knew of things in the capital by hearsay rather than by actual experience. He can speak in general terms of Roman vices, but he does not appear (as has been already seen) to possess the knowledge of a resident with regard to definite, though perhaps trivial circumstances, such as the

confinement of the Pygmies. But the very theme of his book, as well as its specific points of contact with Philo, with Josephus, with Caecilius, with the Hebrew scriptures, seems to associate him, in spirit if not in residence, with Alexandria, the great meeting-place of Jew and Greek.

The hypothesis that the book was produced at a distance from Rome, or sent to a friend at a distance from Rome, might help to account for the fact that it seems to have been little known in antiquity. If that friend was also in an official position, there might seem double reason for secrecy with regard to a work which might be held to embody seditious sentiments. A book designed for private circulation would naturally not be multiplied to any extent, and this would explain the paucity of independent copies of the treatise.

One final word with regard to the person addressed. Some may feel inclined to regard the Terentianus of the treatise as an entirely fictitious person, the offspring of the literary convention which conducted such discussions in the form of dialogue or epistle. But so extreme a view, though it might be put forward, could hardly be successfully defended. For apart from the fact that the general practice was to introduce real personages into such letters and dialogues, there is a special reality and intimacy about the references to Terentianus in the *De Sublimitate*. One of the chief impressions, in fact, which we form upon internal evidence with regard to our anonymous author is that, whatever else he may have been, he was at least a warm-hearted friend and an enthusiastic teacher. Internal evidence also assures us that he was a Greek, who had some acquaintance with Latin and even with Hebrew literature; that he was conversant, to some extent, with art as well as with literature; that in his general view of things, as well as in his diction, he had been influenced greatly by Plato; and that he had written on other subjects than his present one<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The following passages seem to contain references to other writings of his: viii. 1, *ὡς κἀν τοῖς περὶ Ξενοφώντος* (if this is a reference to a separate work) *ᾠρισάμεθα*. ix. 2, *γέγραφέα που καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ τοιοῦτον*· *ὑψὸς μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα*. xxiii. 3, *καὶ τὸ Πλατωνικόν, δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι παρετεθείμεθα, ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων*· *οὐ γὰρ*

The personal details afforded by the *Περὶ Ὑψους* are, thus, few in number. But the work as a whole constitutes a remarkable revelation of personality, and it may be said to be its author's best biography and monument. An account of its contents and an estimate of its character will, therefore, fittingly continue and conclude this introduction.

## II. CONTENTS AND CHARACTER OF THE TREATISE.

The contents and character of the treatise will be found to be admirably indicated in the traditional Greek title *Περὶ Ὑψους*, and in its accepted English equivalent *On the Sublime*, if only the words *ὑψος* and *sublime* be correctly understood.

The English equivalent has, no doubt, often caused misconception. The treatise has been thought to be at once more ambitious in purpose, and more narrow in scope, than it really is. But the Greek title *Περὶ Ὑψους*, 'Concerning Height or Elevation,' does not convey that idea of abnormal altitude which is often associated with the word *sublime*. The object of the author rather is to indicate broadly the essentials of a noble and impressive style. In fact, if we were to describe the treatise as one on style, or even on literary criticism generally, we should be nearer the mark than if we connected it solely with the idea of 'sublimity' in the narrower sense. The author's own words make this plain, for early in his book (i. 3) he remarks that the friend whom he is addressing is too well versed in literary studies to need the reminder that sublimity is a certain distinction and excellence in expression, and that it is from no other source than this that the greatest authors have derived their eminence and gained an immortality of renown. A cursory review of the

*Πέλοπες,* κ.τ.λ. xxxix. 1... ἡ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτῇ ποιᾶ σύνθεσις. ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐν δυσὶν ἀποχρώτως ἀποδεδωκότες συντάγμασιν... xlv. 12... τὰ πάθη, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἰδίῳ προηγουμένως ὑπεσχόμεθα γράψειν ὑπομνήματι...

contents of the book will suffice to show the width of its range and to indicate its true character.

At the outset the author, after offering the definition of sublimity just given, proceeds to ask whether there is such a thing as an art of the sublime. His answer is that, though elevation of tone is innate, yet art can regulate the use of natural gifts. It is, he says, with diction as with life. A man favoured by fortune ought to know how to use his advantages; a writer of genius ought to profit by the help of art. In order to show that a systematic treatise can effect much in the way of warning as well as by means of precept, he gives a short account of defects of style which are opposed to sublimity. He describes and illustrates the vices of tumidity, puerility, misplaced passion, and frigidity. This done, he further characterises the true sublime, and shows how it may be distinguished from false imitations. Next he enumerates five sources of the sublime. The first and most important of these is grandeur of thought—the power of forming great conceptions. This power is founded on nobility of character. Elevated thoughts are also, we are told, the result of the imitation of great models, of imaginative power, and of the choice and grouping of the most striking circumstances. The second source is vehement and inspired passion. While affirming that there is no tone so lofty as that of genuine passion, the author does not treat of this topic in detail, but reserves it for a separate work. Third in order come figures of speech, such as adjuration, rhetorical question, asyndeton, and lastly hyperbaton or inverted order. The writer makes the general remark that a figure is at its best when the very fact that it is a figure escapes attention. The fourth source of sublimity is noble phrasing or diction. The chief element in this is the choice of proper and striking words, a choice which, he says, wonderfully attracts and enthralls the hearer, and breathes into dead things a kind of living voice<sup>1</sup>. Other elements are metaphors, and similes, and hyperbole. Fifthly and finally comes elevation in the arrangement of words. Of this examples are given, and some remarks are added on

<sup>1</sup> xxx. i.

such specific vices of style as arise from the use of too few words or too many, of too much rhythm or too little. The author concludes with the notable passage in which he endeavours to trace the causes of the dearth of great literature in his own day<sup>1</sup>.

This short sketch of the contents of the treatise is designed to indicate its relation to the general subject of style. When we come to particulars, this relation is seen to be still more intimate, and yet to imply no narrowness of view on the author's part. His hints with regard to thought and expression are shrewd and helpful, all the more so that he is too broad-minded to have any superstitious faith in such formal Rules of Style as used to be popular in England a generation or two ago under the shadow of his name. A few examples of his illuminative observations may be given here in anticipation. Speaking of Demosthenes, he remarks how that orator shows us that even in the revels of the imagination sobriety is required<sup>2</sup>. His good sense is seen in his praise of familiar language when used in season. A homely expression, he says, is sometimes much more telling than elegant diction, for it is understood at once since it is drawn from common life, and the fact that it is familiar makes it only the more convincing<sup>3</sup>. Of tumidity, or bombast, we are told that it seeks to transcend the sublime, and that it is a fault which seems particularly hard to avoid, but that if examined in the light of day, it fades away from the awe-inspiring into the contemptible<sup>4</sup>. An over-rhythmical style is condemned on the ground that it does not communicate to its hearers the emotion conveyed by the words, but that conveyed by the rhythm. The author is the determined enemy of conceits and puerilities of all kinds, and he remarks that men fall into these errors because, while they aim at the uncommon and elaborate, and most of all at

<sup>1</sup> A fuller analysis of the contents of the treatise will be found in the Literary Appendix. For the word *ψος*—its history, signification, and modern equivalents—the Linguistic Appendix may be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> xvi. 4: *διδάσκων ὅτι κὰν βακχεύμασι νήφειν ἀναγκαῖον*. Cp. Hamlet to the Players (iii. 2); 'for in the very torrent, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness.'

<sup>3</sup> xxxi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> iii. 1, 3, 4.



the attractive, they find that they have drifted into the tawdry and affected<sup>1</sup>. He expressly denounces that 'pursuit of novelty in the expression of ideas which may be regarded as the fashionable craze of the day<sup>2</sup>.' 'Art is perfect,' he says in one place, 'when it seems to be nature, and nature attains her end when she contains art hidden within her'; and again, 'We should employ art as in every way an aid to nature, for the conjunction of the two may be held to constitute perfection<sup>3</sup>.' In this spirit he makes the remark, with reference to Demosthenes, that the tricks of rhetoric are hidden away in the blaze of the noontide splendour of sublimity and passion. 'By what means,' he asks, 'has the orator here concealed the figure? Clearly, by the very excess of light. For just as all dim lights are extinguished in the glare of the sun, so do the artifices of rhetoric fade from view when bathed in the pervading splendour of sublimity<sup>4</sup>.' Evidently with the critic who writes thus the judgment of style was, to quote his own words, 'the last and crowning fruit of long experience<sup>5</sup>.' Everywhere the man's sincerity of purpose and clearness of vision are manifest, and a book written in this earnest and enlightened spirit does not soon fall out of date.

Furthermore, the treatise may be regarded as a disquisition not only on the formation of style, but on literary criticism generally. In proof of this, it is only necessary to add to the foregoing description of its contents the reminder that it is a veritable storehouse of quotations illustrating excellences and defects both of manner and of matter; both of form and of spirit. Reference is made to as many as fifty Greek writers, whose dates range over something like a thousand years. Some of these are quoted repeatedly, Homer oftenest of all, and next after him Herodotus, Plato, and Demosthenes. The author's quality as a critic is most decisively seen in his preference of the best. The second-rate writers of Alexandria, though nearer in time, are not suffered to eclipse the true classics of Greece; they are quoted rather in illustration of defects than of merits. But in Homer we are bidden to admire such passages as speak of Ossa and Pelion; of Strife,

<sup>1</sup> iii. 4 and iv.<sup>2</sup> v.<sup>3</sup> xxii. 1, xxxvi. 4.<sup>4</sup> xvii. 2.<sup>5</sup> vi.

'with her head in the skies and her feet on the earth ; of the Battle of the Gods ; of the earth-shaking Poseidon ; of the cry of Ajax to Father Zeus 'to slay, if slay he must, *in the light*,' and of the yet more impressive silence of the same hero in the shades<sup>1</sup>. Nowhere is the critic's skilful touch better seen than where he treats of Homer. In drawing, for instance, a comparison between the Iliad and the Odyssey, he assigns the former poem to the poet's vigorous manhood when he was at the height of his inspiration, the latter to his mellow age. 'In the Odyssey Homer may be likened to a sinking sun, whose grandeur remains without its intensity.' But he is careful to add, 'If I speak of old age, it is nevertheless the old age of Homer<sup>2</sup>.' Again, he has the rather happy remark that Homer 'has made, as far as lay within his power, gods of the men concerned in the Siege of Troy, and men of the gods<sup>3</sup>.' Altogether, it is refreshing to see how often and with what sympathy a critic in the late evening of Greece reverts to the poet of its earliest dawn. His admiration for noble literature has incidentally accomplished even more for Sappho than for Homer, though the former is but once mentioned by him. In his tenth chapter, as an example of the proper choice and grouping of the most striking circumstances, he adduces, and in so doing has preserved for posterity, a fragment of Sappho's poetry. The gist of his comment on the wonderful love-ode in question is that we see depicted in it not one passion only but a concourse of the passions. His critical acumen is, moreover, seen in the illustrations given, up and down his work, not only of sublimity but of its opposite. The treatment in x. 5, 6 of Aratus, the Alexandrian poet, is a neat instance of his critical method. Besides Aratus, other minor writers, such as Timaeus and Theopompus, are made to furnish examples of faults which should be shunned by those who wish to write in the elevated manner. But the author is of too fearless a nature to strike only at the lesser men. He assails the great writers, such as Herodotus and Aeschylus, where they seem to him to offend against the canons of good taste. He has the courage to say that Demosthenes is too austere to be

<sup>1</sup> viii., ix.<sup>2</sup> ix. 13, 14.<sup>3</sup> ix. 7.

graceful and witty, and that when he forces himself into jocularity, he does not excite laughter, but rather becomes the subject of it<sup>1</sup>. And he makes bold to affirm with regard to Euripides, the idol of the rhetorician, that he is by nature anything but elevated, and that it is only by force put upon his natural disposition that he appears to rise to tragic heights<sup>2</sup>. In such comments as these, whether we agree with them or not, we recognise pieces of genuine literary criticism, and the literary critic stands equally revealed in the note of pleasant egotism which makes itself heard now and again during the course of the treatise, and in such general maxims as that the poet must himself see what he would have others see,—must, in fact, have his ‘eye upon the object.’

Nor are such now familiar topics of criticism as *correctness*, the *standard of taste*, and the *comparative method*, neglected by the author. Upon the question of correctness he shows a breadth of view which is in marked contrast with the opinions commonly held (and by his professed admirers, strange to say) in England for a century or more from the time of the Restoration. He is no believer in what is faultily faultless; he is a supreme believer in fervour and inspiration. Elevation with some flaws is, he cannot doubt, to be preferred to uniform correctness without elevation. His attitude in the matter is defined in some striking passages of chapters xxxiii. and xxxvi. To the often-asked question whether there is any trustworthy test of the sublime—any sure standard of taste in literature—he returns (vii. 3, 4) an answer which seems surprisingly modern because it is so permanently true. No modern critic could formulate more precisely, in relation to literature, the *quod semper, quod ubique* principle.

Modern in many ways, the author is in nothing more modern than in foreshadowing, in the passage just mentioned and in others, the application of the comparative method to the study of literature. It is easy to scoff at specific literary comparisons, and no doubt there is often much that is puerile and inept about them. But, as M. Ferdinand Brunetière has pointed out, the ridicule comes with ill grace from those who

<sup>1</sup> xxxiv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> xv. 3.

celebrate so loudly the triumphs in our own day of comparative anatomy, comparative physiology, and comparative philology. In a sense science may be said to begin in comparison, in the effort to distinguish things that differ and thereby to bring out the true nature of each and all. At the same time it is well to remember the necessary limitations of the comparative method where literature is concerned. It is utterly out of place and futile, if its object is to place the great writers in an order of merit, and to establish a sort of literary hierarchy. And even where the aim is simply to bring out the distinctive points of contrasted authors, it should not be forgotten that the methods of the laboratory can never fully be applied to the analysis of the finest products of the human mind. In this matter it may not unfairly be claimed that our author assumes a judicious attitude. The comparison, in the tenth chapter, of a passage in Homer with a passage in Aratus is distinctly happy. And so, in its way, is the comparison between Homer in the *Iliad* and Homer in the *Odyssey*. And so, again, is the section in which he compares, not the same poet in different works, but two orators of different countries, Demosthenes and Cicero. Speaking with due diffidence as a Greek addressing a Roman, he ventures the opinion that it is in profusion that Cicero chiefly differs from Demosthenes. The latter is like a thunderbolt or flash of lightning; the former resembles a widespread conflagration which rolls on with all-devouring flames<sup>1</sup>.

In his use, however limited it may be, of the comparative method the author has the advantage over his great predecessors Plato and Aristotle, neither of whom knew any literature except his own. It is interesting to observe in what general features he agrees with, or differs from, these masters of literary criticism. With both he has this in common, that he may often seem unduly verbal and philological,—may often seem to attach excessive importance to rhythm, to figures, and to questions of form generally. Not that it is so in reality. Rather, attention to such matters

<sup>1</sup> xii. 4.

must be the backbone of criticism, and especially of early criticism. In other points the author resembles Plato more nearly than he resembles Aristotle. He breathes the spirit of the *Ion* rather than of the *Poetics*. He is subjective rather than objective. He is an enthusiast rather than an analyst. He is better fitted to fire the young than to convince the maturely sceptical. He speaks rather of 'transport' or 'inspiration' than of 'purgation' or 'the universal.' He was not a man of deep and penetrating intellect like Aristotle, but he was nevertheless a critic of keen artistic sensibilities. His book does not offer the great luminous definitions contained in the *Poetics*, nor is it marked by the cool and searching scientific analysis by which that work is distinguished. Yet it may be that it supplies something of its own. Aristotle but seldom makes us feel that there sometimes dwells in words a beauty which defies analysis because it is the direct expression of a human spirit and is charged with emotion as well as controlled by reason. Our author's chief aim is, on the other hand, aesthetic rather than purely scientific. This difference in standpoint has had at least one noteworthy indirect effect. Let us suppose for a moment that every vestige of ancient Greek literature had disappeared with the exception of the *Poetics* which is a fragment, or with the exception of the *Treatise on the Sublime* which is also incomplete. In the latter case we should at least possess the better anthology; we should be in a better position to form some conception of the supreme excellence of Homer, and Sappho, and other Greek poets. And this result would be due to the fact that the author's method is much less rigorous than that of Aristotle in the *Poetics*, and allows greater copiousness of quotation.

His catholicity has led him still further. While Aristotle, notwithstanding his encyclopaedic learning, knew no literature beyond his own, it is an interesting fact that our author in his treatise refers not only to Latin literature but to Hebrew. Among the many literary critics from Aristophanes to the Alexandrians and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and from Cicero to Quintilian and the author of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*,

he is distinguished by the account he takes of three several literatures. It is not impossible that he had been anticipated in this respect by the Caecilius to whom he so often refers. But we cannot tell. All we know is that, when discoursing on noble thought as inspired by nobility of soul, our author writes: 'The legislator of the Jews, no ordinary man, having formed and expressed a worthy conception of the might of the Godhead, writes in the very beginning of his Laws, "God said—what? Let there be light, and there was light; let there be land, and there was land<sup>1</sup>."'

And here a word may fitly be said as to the connexion of sublimity, in the more restricted and more usual sense of the English term, with Hebrew influences. It has sometimes been maintained that sublimity, in this sense, is the peculiar possession of the Hebrew race and is unknown to the Greek classic writers. The contention is suggestive, but too absolute. The highest possible examples of sublimity, it may be urged, are to be found in such Hebrew writers as Isaiah. Moderns like Milton, it may be further advanced, owe much of their sublimity, directly or indirectly, to Hebrew sources. But on the other hand we can hardly deny the quality, however rigorous may be our definition of it, to early Greek writers such as Homer and Aeschylus, and to the early phases of some of the more modern literatures. Are we, then, to look everywhere for Oriental influences, and not rather to seek the clue in the brooding wonder of primitive man wherever found? The whole question is too large and vague for summary treatment. In France, for instance, an eminent critic has suggested that the reason why the literature of his country is deficient in sublimity is that the French translation of the Bible is a poor one and has never taken possession of the popular mind, while the English version is magnificent and has influenced English literary style for centuries. But surely the cause lies deeper than this. We must not forget that in French there is no essential difference between the vocabulary of prose and that of poetry. We cannot forget,

<sup>1</sup> ix. 9.

either, Voltaire's comment on the 'darkness visible' of Milton and on a similar expression in Spanish: 'Ce n'est pas assez que l'on puisse excuser la licence de ces expressions, l'exactitude française n'admet rien qui ait besoin d'excuse<sup>1</sup>.' That is quite an intelligible attitude to assume, but it is one which at once puts sublimity out of the question. We can imagine that Aristotle might have assumed it; so completely does he sometimes seem to regard poetry from the logician's point of view. But such an attitude we should feel to be quite alien to the author of the Greek Treatise on the Sublime, and equally alien, we may add, to the author of the English treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful. Burke's admirable work is notable, among many other things, for its striking quotations from the Old Testament and from Milton, and for its insistence upon the truth that sublimity is closely connected with a sense of uncertainty, obscurity, infinity. 'A clear idea,' he says, 'is another name for a little idea,' and then proceeds to quote from the Book of Job a passage whose amazing sublimity he considers to be principally due to the terrible uncertainty of the thing described. Sublimity belongs, in fact, to the region of vastness and mystery. In a pregnant sentence Aristotle declares that a good style must be clear without being mean; lucidity is, from this point of view, the first essential. But when sublimity is in question, the order is reversed. First and foremost stands grandeur of conception, even if a certain obscurity of expression should follow in its train.

It has been seen that the word *sublimity* is, in its modern acceptation, too limited in scope to cover our author's meaning. Shall we, then, do better to think of him as an exponent of what is sometimes called the *grand style*? This term is less restricted than the other, and therein it has the advantage. But it has also disadvantages of its own. It is not free from the suggestion of bombast and excessive elaboration. Against such vices our author strongly protests, and he would have been the last to eulogize a style whose brilliance may dazzle the eyes of one generation, but whose disappearance

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres de Voltaire* (Paris, 1828), xiii. 441.

awakens satisfaction rather than regret in the mind of the next. His admiration is reserved for something much more permanent, a classic excellence. His attitude is that of one who cares little whether or no the grand style disappears if only the great style remains. And his view of the elements of a great style is at once discriminating and lofty. He is too sound a verbal critic to overlook the importance of the more technical or scholastic side. But he is also too broad-minded to forget that greatness of style must ultimately rest on a much wider basis than that afforded by technical rules. His double standpoint is worthy of attention because it must have been rare in his own time and it cannot be said to be common in ours.

As a critic he sees that care and study are needed in the formation of a great style. And if proof of this fact were required, it would be necessary only to point to specific instances in ancient and in modern times. Writers like Virgil and Tennyson perhaps bear the marks of elaboration upon them, and it would therefore be superfluous to refer to their known habits of work. But such carefulness has often characterised those authors whose seeming naturalness and spontaneity afford but little trace of it. Recent inquiries have shown what pains Burns and Keats lavished on their poetry. In antiquity there was a well-known story of the immense trouble taken by Plato in writing the exordium, so simple in appearance, of his *Republic*. It is perhaps inappropriate to link the name of any modern prose-writer with that of the greatest of all writers of prose, but whether we think of Plato's translator Jowett, or of Newman or of Matthew Arnold, the same law of minute attention to the art of expression might be proved to hold good. Even where there is simplicity, it is usually a studied simplicity; where there is ease, it is elaborate ease.

As to our author's own style we sometimes feel, as perhaps might be expected from his theme, that he fails to show that business-like directness of exposition which is so effective when information or instruction is to be imparted, and which is so foreign to the atmosphere of a



leisurely seclusion. Of succinct expression he has little to say in this treatise; it does not belong directly to his present subject, and possibly he had already dealt with it elsewhere. But whether he had done so or not, we feel that he would not have desired to conceal any limitations or shortcomings which could fairly be alleged against himself. His book leaves upon the mind the agreeable impression that he would have been quite ready to allow that there might well be defects in his own style and in his treatment of his subject. In his style he sometimes shows the faults of the period at which he wrote, faults such as diffuseness and poetical phraseology. Similarly, in his treatment of his subject, he is apt to be too minute and to lose himself occasionally in technicalities. In fact, he does not escape the characteristic defect of the teacher who has to deal with pupils of all grades of intellectual apprehension; now and then he appears to be unduly didactic and to verge upon tediousness.

But these are trifling blemishes, and we scarcely heed them in the presence of his deeply earnest purpose and his breadth of view. As his fourth chapter shows, no one could entertain less respect than he for mere bookishness. Nor could any one discern more clearly how mistaken is the view of those who regard style as an end in itself or talk glibly of 'art for art's sake.' Like the author of the *Dialogue on Oratory*, he sees in literature not a convention, not a matter of form, but the reflexion of a national life; a great style is evoked by great surroundings and great events. His lofty conception of individual and of national morality, and his view of the relation of both to literature, are clearly seen in such passages as ix. 3; xlv. 1, 6, 8; xxxv. 2, 3. About a man who can write as he here writes there is something of the profound moral gravity and the lofty eloquence which mark a Demosthenes or a Burke. The ethical fervour of the author's style calls to mind his own often-quoted saying that 'sublimity is the echo of a great soul<sup>1</sup>.' He is himself a man of great moral endowments; the misfortune was that he had fallen upon evil days. The heroic age was in the far past, and the present

<sup>1</sup> ix. 2.

was, to him, a time of spiritual destitution, when men loved show and comfort, and were no longer earnest in the pursuit of perfection.

Such is the man as we view him in his book, and we feel that—historical evidence apart—he might well have lived the life of that Longinus of the third century who was famous for his learning and his gifts as a critic; who at Alexandria had been the brilliant pupil of the Neoplatonists; who at Athens gained celebrity as the teacher of young men ambitious of philosophical and literary culture; who at Palmyra, as the minister of Zenobia, inspired the defiant reply sent by the queen to the letter of the emperor Aurelian which demanded her submission; who met his death in the spirit of a hero.

But sentiment cannot take the place of proof, and the treatise must henceforward stand upon its own merits, as it can well afford to do. Nor is it clear that it does not gain as much in general interest by being assigned to the first century rather than the third, as it loses in personal interest by being dissociated from the fascinating name of Longinus. At the same time it must be admitted that this uncertainty with regard to its authorship has undoubtedly been one of the chief causes of its recent neglect. Other reasons have been the not unnatural reaction from the extravagant deference—bordering on superstition—paid to it in France and England during the eighteenth century; the philosophical tendency of criticism, and the ultra-scientific tendency of scholarship, in Germany; the purely fastidious objections to a late and unfamiliar style entertained by many students of the classics, and the more substantial difficulties felt with regard to the constitution of the text and the interpretation of vexed passages, the Greek having been pronounced unusually hard by a judge so supremely able as Edward Gibbon; and (in England especially) that absence of a critical edition which may be regarded, not only as a cause of the neglect, but also as a result of some of the other causes just recited. Of late, however, signs of a fresh reaction have shown themselves even in the smaller European countries. Within the last few decades, for example, versions of the treatise have appeared in Spain, where Castilian

illustrations of its precepts are freely offered ; in Italy, where the traditional interest in literary criticism, and in this book in particular, has produced excellent fruit ; and in Sweden, where the vigorous modern school of Scandinavian literature thus connects itself with the past.

The merits, in virtue of which the treatise makes this enduring appeal to various countries and successive centuries, are—as we have seen—manifold. Taken as a whole, it is the most striking single piece of literary criticism produced by any Greek writer posterior to Aristotle. It further claims our respect and admiration by its noble tone ; by its apt precepts with respect to style ; by its judicious attitude towards fundamental questions such as those of the errors of genius, the standard of taste, the relation of art to nature and of literature to life ; by its value as a treasury of extracts, and of happy appreciations destined to be confirmed by every fresh discovery of Hyperides or Bacchylides ; and lastly, by its historical interest as one of the earliest essays in comparative criticism, and as an aesthetic treatise which has had some degree of influence upon almost every European literature.

For the modern world it is perhaps specially valuable in two respects. At a time when criticism is apt to be superficial and to lack width of outlook, it reminds us, by the admitted justice in the main of its censure and its praise, that there is a real continuity in the principles of criticism,—a firm and abiding foundation for the judgments of taste. And in the second place it is well adapted to form an aid to the systematic study of Greek literature ; and that from a most suggestive and stimulating point of view. By no work that has come down to us from antiquity is a deeper impression produced of the enjoyment of Greek literature than by this. It is an enjoyment so keen that we might be tempted to describe it as Epicurean (in the popular sense) were it not tinged with Stoic seriousness and Platonic ardour. Above all, it is a contagious enjoyment. The writer loves Greek literature and can make others love it. And his love rests upon knowledge. His view is comprehensive. He has studied his subject in every period of its history and in every

phase of its development. And he not only knows Greek literature, but he knows it from a more detached standpoint than was possible to Aristotle or even to the Alexandrian critics. He is writing under the Roman empire, and at a time when new nations and new religions were in the making. He is an ancient studying the ancients, and yet he stands at the central point of the world's history. Addressing himself to a Roman, he recognises that Greek literature was fitted to command the interest of mankind at large, and that the distinctive feature to which it owed and would owe its supremacy was its elevation (*ὑψος*). His deep humanity and his broad sympathies have helped him, as they have helped Plutarch, to interpret the spirit of antiquity to the modern mind, and have given him a permanent place in the history of literature as the last great critic of ancient Greece and (in some sense) the first international critic of a wider world.



INCERTI CVIVSDAM AVCTORIS  
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EDITVS  
ET IN SERMONEM ANGLICVM CONVERSVS.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ.

### I

Τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κεκιλίου συγγραμμάτιον, ὃ περὶ ὕψους P. 178<sup>v</sup>  
συνετάξατο, ἀνασκοπούμενοις ἡμῖν ὡς οἶσθα κοινῇ,  
Ποστούμιε †Φλωρεντιανὲ φίλτατε, ταπεινότερον ἐφάνη  
τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἥκιστα τῶν καιρίων ἐφαπτό-  
5 μενον, οὐ πολλὴν τε ὠφέλειαν, ἣς μάλιστα δεῖ στοχά-  
ζεσθαι τὸν γράφοντα, περιποιοῦν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν,  
εἴγ' ἐπὶ πάσης τεχνολογίας δυεῖν ἀπαιτουμένων, προτέρου  
μὲν τοῦ δεῖξαι, τί τὸ ὑποκείμενον, δευτέρου δὲ τῇ τάξει,  
τῇ δυνάμει δὲ κυριωτέρου, πῶς ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ  
10 δι' ὧν τινων μεθόδων κτητὸν γένοιτο, ὅμως ὁ Κεκίλιος,  
ποῖον μὲν τι ὑπάρχει τὸ ὑψηλόν, διὰ μυρίων ὅσων ὡς  
ἀγνοοῦσι πειράται δεικνύναι, τὸ δὲ δι' ὅτου τρόπου τὰς  
ἐαυτῶν φύσεις προάγειν ἰσχύοιμεν ἂν εἰς ποσὴν μεγέθους  
ἐπίδοσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον παρέλιπεν.  
15 2. πλὴν ἴσως τουτονὶ μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ οὕτως αἰτιᾶ-  
σθαι τῶν ἐκλελειμμένων, ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπινοίας καὶ  
σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνεκελεύσω καὶ ἡμᾶς  
τι περὶ ὕψους πάντως εἰς σὴν ὑπομνηματίσασθαι χάριν, 179<sup>v</sup>  
φέρει, εἴ τι δὴ δοκοῦμεν ἀνδράσι πολιτικοῖς τεθεωρηκέναι  
20 χρήσιμον, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. αὐτὸς δ' ἡμῖν, ἐταῖρε, τὰ ἐπὶ

3 †Φλωρεντιανὲ] Vide Append. A, infra.  
εἴτ' Manutius.

13 ἰσχύοιμεν P.

7 εἴτ' P, corr. Spengelius,  
20 ἐτ\*\*ρε P ἐταῖρε P.

## ON THE SUBLIME.

### I

You will remember, my dear Postumius Terentianus<sup>1</sup>, that when we examined together the treatise of Caecilius on the Sublime, we found that it fell below the dignity of the whole subject, while it failed signally to grasp the essential points, and conveyed to its readers but little of that practical help which it should be a writer's principal aim to give. In every systematic treatise two things are required. The first is a statement of the subject; the other, which although second in order ranks higher in importance, is an indication of the methods by which we may attain our end. Now Caecilius seeks to show the nature of the sublime by countless instances as though our ignorance demanded it, but the consideration of the means whereby we may succeed in raising our own capacities to a certain pitch of elevation he has, strangely enough, omitted as unnecessary.

2. However, it may be that the man ought not so much to be blamed for his shortcomings as praised for his happy thought and his enthusiasm. But since you have urged me, in my turn, to write a brief essay on the sublime for your special gratification, let us consider whether the views I have formed contain anything which will be of use to public men. You will yourself, my friend, in accordance

<sup>1</sup> Probably this name (together with another which has disappeared) underlies the reading of P. See Introduction (pp. 19, 20) and Appendix A (p. 170).



μέρους, ὡς πέφυκας καὶ καθήκει, συνεπικρινεῖς ἀλη-  
 θέστατα· εὖ γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀποφηνάμενος τί θεοῖς ὅμοιον  
 ἔχομεν, 'εὐεργεσίαν' εἶπας 'καὶ ἀλήθειαν.' 3. γράφων  
 δὲ πρὸς σέ, φίλτατε, τὸν παιδείας ἐπιστήμονα, σχεδὸν  
 5 ἀπήλλαγμα καὶ τοῦ διὰ πλειόνων προϋποτίθεσθαι, ὡς  
 ἀκρότης καὶ ἐξοχή τις λόγων ἐστὶ τὰ ὕψη, καὶ ποιητῶν  
 τε οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ συγγραφέων οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐνθένδε  
 ποθεὶν ἐπρώτευσαν καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περιέβαλον εὐκλείαις  
 τὸν αἰῶνα. 4. οὐ γὰρ εἰς πειθῶ τοὺς ἀκροωμένους  
 10 ἀλλ' εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ· πάντῃ δέ γε σὺν  
 ἐκπλήξει τοῦ πιθανοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν αἰεὶ κρατεῖ τὸ  
 θαυμάσιον, εἶγε τὸ μὲν πιθανὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν,  
 ταῦτα δὲ δυναστείαν καὶ βίαν ἄμαχον προσφέροντα  
 παντὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀκροωμένου καθίσταται. καὶ τὴν  
 15 μὲν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς εὐρέσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων  
 τάξιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς οὐδ' ἐκ δυεῖν, ἐκ δὲ  
 τοῦ ὅλου τῶν λόγων ὕψους μόλις ἐκφαινομένην ὁρῶμεν,  
 ὕψος δέ που καιρίως ἐξενεχθὲν τὰ τε πράγματα δίκην  
 σκηπτοῦ πάντα διεφόρησεν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος εὐθὺς  
 20 ἀθρόαν ἐνεδείξατο δύναμιν. ταῦτα γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τὰ  
 παραπλήσια, Τερεντιανὲ | ἥδιστε, κἂν αὐτὸς ἐκ πείρας 179<sup>8</sup>  
 ὑφηγήσαιο.

## II

Ἡμῖν δ' ἐκείνο διαπορητέον ἐν ἀρχῇ, εἰ ἔστιν ὕψους  
 τις ἢ βάθους τέχνη, ἐπεὶ τινες ὅλως οἰοῦνται διηπατῆσθαι  
 25 τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄγοντας εἰς τεχνικὰ παραγγέλματα.  
 γεννᾶται γάρ, φησί, τὰ μεγαλοφυῆ καὶ οὐ διδακτὰ παρα-  
 γίνεται, καὶ μία τέχνη πρὸς αὐτὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι· χεῖρῳ τε  
 τὰ φυσικὰ ἔργα, ὡς οἰοῦνται, καὶ τῷ παντὶ δειλότερα καθ-  
 ἵσταται ταῖς τεχνολογίαις κατασκελετενόμενα. 2. ἐγὼ

1 πεφυκας P.

3 εἶπας, in margine ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπῶν P.

8 περιέβαλον P.

24 οἰοντ\*\* P οἰονται P.

with your nature and with what is fitting, join me in appraising each detail with the utmost regard for truth; for he answered well who, when asked in what qualities we resemble the Gods, declared that we do so in benevolence and truth<sup>1</sup>. 3. As I am writing to you, my good friend, who are well versed in literary studies, I feel almost absolved from the necessity of premising at any length that sublimity is a certain distinction and excellence in expression, and that it is from no other source than this that the greatest poets and writers have derived their eminence and gained an immortality of renown. 4. The effect of elevated language upon an audience is not persuasion but transport. At every time and in every way imposing speech, with the spell it throws over us, prevails over that which aims at persuasion and gratification. Our persuasions we can usually control, but the influences of the sublime bring power and irresistible might to bear, and reign supreme over every hearer. Similarly, we see skill in invention, and due order and arrangement of matter, emerging as the hard-won result not of one thing nor of two, but of the whole texture of the composition, whereas Sublimity flashing forth at the right moment scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt, and at once displays the power of the orator in all its plenitude. But enough; for these reflexions, and others like them, you can, I know well, my dear Terentianus, yourself suggest from your own experience.

## II

First of all, we must raise the question whether there is such a thing as an art of the sublime or lofty. Some hold that those are entirely in error who would bring such matters under the precepts of art. A lofty tone, says one, is innate, and does not come by teaching; nature is the only art that can compass it. Works of nature are, they think, made worse and altogether feebler when wizenized by the rules of art.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C (p. 244), *Scriptor Incertus* (3).

δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι τοῦθ' ἐτέρως ἔχον φημί, εἰ ἐπισκέψαιτό  
 τις, ὅτι ἡ φύσις, ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς καὶ  
 διηρμένους αὐτόνομον, οὕτως οὐκ εἰκαλὸν τι κακ παντὸς  
 ἀμέθοδον εἶναι φιλεῖ, καὶ ὅτι αὕτη μὲν πρῶτόν τι καὶ  
 5 ἀρχέτυπον γενέσεως στοιχεῖον ἐπὶ πάντων ὑφέστηκεν,  
 τὰς δὲ ποσότητος καὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἐκάστου καιρὸν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν  
 ἀπλανεστάτην ἀσκησίην τε καὶ χρήσιν ἱκανὴ παρορίσαι  
 καὶ συνενεγκεῖν ἡ μέθοδος, καὶ ὡς ἐπικινδυνότερα, αὐτὰ  
 ἐφ' αὐτῶν δίχα ἐπιστήμης, ἀστήρικτα καὶ ἀνερμάτιστα  
 10 ἐαθέντα τὰ μεγάλα, ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ φορᾷ καὶ ἀμαθεὶ τόλμῃ  
 λειπόμενα· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς κέντρου πολλάκις, οὕτω δὲ  
 καὶ χαλινοῦ. 3. ὅπερ γὰρ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνεται βίου, μέγιστον μὲν εἶναι τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν τὸ εὐτυχεῖν, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ εὖ  
 15 βουλευέσθαι, ὅπερ οἷς ἂν μὴ παρῇ συναναιρεῖ πάντως καὶ  
 θάτερον, τοῦτ' ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων εἴποιμεν, ὡς ἡ μὲν  
 φύσις τὴν τῆς εὐτυχίας τάξιν ἐπέχει, ἡ τέχνη δὲ τὴν τῆς  
 εὐβουλίας. τὸ δὲ κυριώτατον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναί τινα  
 τῶν ἐν λόγοις ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ φύσει οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἡμᾶς ἢ  
 20 παρὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐκμαθεῖν δεῖ. εἰ ταῦθ', ὡς ἔφην, ἐπιλο-  
 γίσαιτο καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῖς χρηστομαθοῦσιν ἐπιτιμῶν, οὐκ  
 ἂν ἔτι, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, περιττὴν καὶ ἄχρηστον τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 προκειμένων ἡγήσαιτο θεωρίαν...

DESUNT DVO FOLIA

7 παρορίσαι, in marg. γρ. πορίσαι P.

16 ὡς ἡ μὲν] cum his verbis desinit folium versum III quaternionis ΚΔ (179<sup>v</sup>),  
 deinde desunt duo folia (IV et V). quae sequuntur verba φύσις—θεωρίαν om. P,  
 edidit primus Tollius ex Vaticano cod. 285. eadem leguntur verba in cod. Parisino

985, ex quo Vaticanum descriptum esse verisimile est. 18 κυριώτατον ὅτι]

Pearcius, κυριώτατόν τε Vat. 285 et Par. 985. 22 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ] Spengelius,

μοι δοκῶ Vat. 285 et Par. 985. 23 ἡγήσαιτο] Boivinus: .....σαιτο (m.

alt. κομίσαιτο) Par. 985, κομίσαιτο Vat. 285.

2. But I maintain that this will be found to be otherwise if it be observed that, while nature as a rule is free and independent in matters of passion and elevation, yet is she wont not to act at random and utterly without system. Further, nature is the original and vital underlying principle in all cases, but system can define limits and fitting seasons, and can also contribute the safest rules for use and practice. Moreover, the expression of the sublime is more exposed to danger when it goes its own way without the guidance of knowledge,—when it is suffered to be unstable and unballasted,—when it is left at the mercy of mere momentum and ignorant audacity. It is true that it often needs the spur, but it is also true that it often needs the curb<sup>1</sup>. 3. Demosthenes expresses the view, with regard to human life in general, that good fortune is the greatest of blessings, while good counsel, which occupies the second place, is hardly inferior in importance, since its absence contributes inevitably to the ruin of the former<sup>2</sup>. This we may apply to diction, nature occupying the position of good fortune, art that of good counsel. Most important of all, we must remember that the very fact that there are some elements of expression which are in the hands of nature alone, can be learnt from no other source than art. If, I say, the critic of those who desire to learn were to turn these matters over in his mind, he would no longer, it seems to me, regard the discussion of the subject as superfluous or useless...

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Scr. Inc.* (10).

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. *c. Aristocr.* 113.

## III

\* \* καὶ καμίνου σχῶσι μάκιστον σέλας.

180<sup>5</sup>

εἰ γάρ τιν' ἐστιοῦχον ὄψομαι μόνον,  
μίαν παρείρας πλεκτάνην χειμάρροον,  
στέγην πυρώσω καὶ κατανθρακώσομαι·

5 νῦν δ' οὐ κέκραγά πω τὸ γενναῖον μέλος.

οὐ τραγικὰ ἔτι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρατράγωδα, αἰπλεκτάναι,  
καὶ τὸ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐξεμεῖν, καὶ τὸ τὸν Βορέαν αὐλητὴν  
ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξῆς· τεθόλωται γὰρ τῇ φράσει καὶ  
τεθορύβηται ταῖς φαντασίαις μᾶλλον ἢ δεδείνωται, καὶ  
10 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐγὰς ἀνασκοπῆς, ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ  
κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπονοστεῖ πρὸς τὸ εὐκαταφρόνητον. ὅπου δ'  
ἐν τραγωδίᾳ, πράγματι ὀγκηρῶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιδεχομένῳ  
στόμφον, ὅμως τὸ παρὰ μέλος οἶδεῖν ἀσύγγνωστον, σχολῇ  
γ' ἂν οἶμαι λόγοις ἀληθινοῖς ἀρμόσειεν. 2. ταύτῃ καὶ  
15 τὰ τοῦ Λεοντίνου Γοργίου γελᾶται γράφοντος 'Ξέρξης ὁ  
τῶν Περσῶν Ζεὺς,' καὶ 'Γῦπες ἔμψυχοι τάφοι,' καὶ τινα  
τῶν Καλλισθένους ὄντα οὐχ ὑψηλὰ ἀλλὰ μετέωρα, καὶ ἔτι  
μᾶλλον τὰ Κλειτάρχου· φλοιώδης γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ φυσῶν  
κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα,

20 μικροῖς μὲν αὐλίσκοισι, φορβειᾷς δ' ἄτερ.

τά γε μὴν Ἀμφικράτους τοιαῦτα καὶ Ἡγησίου καὶ Μά-  
τριδος· πολλαχοῦ γὰρ ἐνθουσιᾷν ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντες οὐ  
βακχεύουσιν ἀλλὰ παίζουσιν. 3. ὅλως δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι  
τὸ οἶδεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δυσφυλακτότατον. φύσει γὰρ  
25 ἅπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφιέμενοι, φεύγοντες ἀσθενείας καὶ  
ξηρότητος κατάγνωσιν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ὑποφέ-  
ρονται, πειθόμενοι τῷ 'μεγάλων ἀπολισθαίνειν ὅμως

1—5 versus metricos hic et alibi continue scribit P, notis hisce (>>>>) in  
margine plerumque adpositis ubi laudantur verba sive poetae sive scriptoris

pedestris. 3 χειμάρρον P. 11 ὑπονοστεῖ, in marg. ἀντὶ τοῦ χωρισθῆναι  
δυνήσεται σοι P. 13 σχολῇ P. 18 ἀνὴρ] ἀνὴρ P. 26 ὁπῶσ P.  
27 μεγάλων] μεγάλω P.

## III

Quell they the oven's far-flung splendour-glow!  
 Ha, let me but one hearth-abider mark—  
 One flame-wreath torrent-like I'll whirl on high;  
 I'll burn the roof, to cinders shrivel it!—  
 Nay, now my chant is not of noble strain<sup>1</sup>.

Such things are not tragic but pseudo-tragic—'flame-wreaths,' and 'belching to the sky,' and Boreas represented as a 'flute-player,' and all the rest of it. They are turbid in expression and confused in imagery rather than the product of intensity, and each one of them, if examined in the light of day, sinks little by little from the terrible into the contemptible. But since even in tragedy, which is in its very nature stately and prone to bombast, tasteless tumidity is unpardonable, still less, I presume, will it harmonise with the narration of fact. 2. And this is the ground on which the phrases of Gorgias of Leontini are ridiculed when he describes Xerxes as the 'Zeus of the Persians' and vultures as 'living tombs.' So is it with some of the expressions of Callisthenes which are not sublime but high-flown, and still more with those of Cleitarchus, for the man is frivolous and blows, as Sophocles has it,

On pigmy hautboys: mouthpiece have they none<sup>2</sup>.

Other examples will be found in Amphicrates and Hegesias and Matris, for often when these writers seem to themselves to be inspired they are in no true frenzy but are simply trifling. 3. Altogether, tumidity seems particularly hard to avoid. The explanation is that all who aim at elevation are so anxious to escape the reproach of being weak and dry that they are carried, as by some strange law of nature, into the opposite extreme. They put their trust in the maxim that

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Aeschylus*.—Translated by A. S. Way: see Preface.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Sophocles*.—Translated by A. S. Way: see Preface.

εὐγενὲς ἀμάρτημα.' 4. κακοὶ δὲ ὄγκοι καὶ ἐπὶ σωμάτων 180<sup>ο</sup>  
καὶ λόγων, οἱ χαῦνοι καὶ ἀναλήθεις καὶ μήποτε περιστάντες  
ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦναντίον· οὐδὲν γάρ φασι ξηρότερον ὑδρω-  
πικοῦ. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἰδοῦν ὑπεραίρειν βούλεται τὰ ὕψη,  
5 τὸ δὲ μειρακιῶδες ἄντικρυς ὑπεναντίον τοῖς μεγέθεσι·  
ταπεινὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅλου καὶ μικρόψυχον καὶ τῷ ὄντι κακὸν  
ἀγεννέστατον. τί ποτ' οὖν τὸ μειρακιῶδες ἐστίν; ἢ δήλον  
ὡς σχολαστικὴ νόησις, ὑπὸ περιεργασίας λήγουσα εἰς  
ψυχρότητα; ὀλισθαίνουνσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγό-  
10 μνοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ  
ἡδέος, ἐποκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον.  
5. τούτῳ παράκειται τρίτον τι κακίας εἶδος ἐν τοῖς  
παθητικοῖς, ὅπερ ὁ Θεόδωρος παρένθυρσον ἐκάλει. ἔστι  
δὲ πάθος ἄκαιρον καὶ κενὸν ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ πάθους, ἢ ἄμετρον  
15 ἔνθα μετρίου δεῖ. πολλὰ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τινὲς εἰς  
τὰ μηκέτι τοῦ πράγματος, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν καὶ σχολικὰ  
παραφέρονται πάθη· εἴτα πρὸς οὐδὲν πεπονθότας ἀκροατὰς  
ἀσχημονοῦσιν, εἰκότως, ἐξεστηκότες πρὸς οὐκ ἐξεστη-  
κότας· πλὴν περὶ μὲν τῶν παθητικῶν ἄλλος ἡμῖν ἀπό-  
20 κεῖται τόπος.

## IV

Θατέρου δὲ ὧν εἵπομεν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, πλήρης  
ὁ Τίμαιος, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἱκανὸς καὶ πρὸς λόγων  
ἐνίοτε μέγεθος οὐκ ἄφορος, πολυῖστωρ, ἐπινοητικός· πλὴν  
ἀλλοτρίων μὲν ἐλεγκτικώτατος ἀμαρτημάτων, ἀνεπαίσθη-  
25 τος δὲ ἰδίων, ὑπὸ δὲ ἔρωτος τοῦ ξένας νοήσεις ἀεὶ κινεῖν 181<sup>ο</sup>  
πολλάκις ἐκπίπτων εἰς τὸ παιδαριωδέστατον. 2. παρα-  
θήσομαι δὲ τάνδρὸς ἐν ἡ δύο, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πλείω προέλαβεν

2 ἀναλήθ\*σ P ἀναλήθεις P.

deteriores. 6 ἐξ ὅλου, in marg. ἀντὶ τοῦ διόλου P.

\*\*\*\*\*στάντες P περιστάντες libri

8 περιεργασία P

περιεργίασ (superscripto γι ab eadem manu) P.

11 ῥωπικόν] Is. Vossius, ῥοπικόν P.

‘failure in a great attempt is at least a noble error<sup>1</sup>.’ 4. But evil are the swellings, both in the body and in diction, which are inflated and unreal, and threaten us with the reverse of our aim; for nothing, say they, is drier than a man who has the dropsy. While tumidity desires to transcend the limits of the sublime, the defect which is termed puerility is the direct antithesis of elevation, for it is utterly low and mean and in real truth the most ignoble vice of style. What, then, is this puerility? Clearly, a pedant’s thoughts, which begin in learned trifling and end in frigidity. Men slip into this kind of error because, while they aim at the uncommon and elaborate and most of all at the attractive, they drift unawares into the tawdry and affected. 5. A third, and closely allied, kind of defect in matters of passion is that which Theodorus used to call *parenthyrsus*. By this is meant unseasonable and empty passion, where no passion is required, or immoderate, where moderation is needed. For men are often carried away, as if by intoxication, into displays of emotion which are not caused by the nature of the subject, but are purely personal and wearisome. In consequence they seem to hearers who are in no wise affected to act in an ungainly way. And no wonder; for they are beside themselves, while their hearers are not. But the question of the passions we reserve for separate treatment.

## IV

Of the second fault of which we have spoken—frigidity—Timaeus supplies many examples. Timaeus was a writer of considerable general ability, who occasionally showed that he was not incapable of elevation of style. He was learned and ingenious, but very prone to criticise the faults of others while blind to his own. Through his passion for continually starting novel notions, he often fell into the merest childishness. 2. I will set down one or two examples only of his manner, since the greater number have been already appropriated by

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Ser. Inc.* (7).



ὁ Κεκίλιος. ἐπαινῶν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν μέγαν, ὃς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην' φησὶν ἐν ἐλάττοσι παρέλαβεν, ἢ ὅσοις τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου πανηγυρικὸν λόγον Ἰσοκράτης ἔγραψεν.<sup>2</sup> θαυμαστή γε τοῦ Μακεδόνο<sup>3</sup>ς ἡ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν σύγκρισις· δῆλον γάρ, ὦ Τίμαιε, ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολὺ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους κατ' ἀνδρίαν ἐλείποντο, ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα ἔτεσι Μεσσήνην παρέλαβον, ὁ δὲ τὸν πανηγυρικὸν ἐν μόνοις δέκα συνετάξατο. 3. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἀλοῦσι περὶ Σικελίαν τίνα τρόπον ἐπιφωνεῖ; ὅτι· εἰς τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀσεβήσαντες καὶ περικόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα, διὰ τοῦτ' ἔδωκαν δίκην, οὐχ ἥκιστα δι' ἓνα ἄνδρα, ὃς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρανομηθέντος διὰ πατέρων ἦν, Ἑρμοκράτη τὸν Ἑρμῶνος.<sup>4</sup> ὥστε θαυμάζειν με, Τερεντιανὲ ἡδιστε, πῶς οὐ καὶ εἰς Διονύσιον γράφει τὸν τύραννον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα δυσσεβῆς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν Δίῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃς τῆς τυραννίδος ἀφείλοντο.<sup>5</sup> 4. τί δεῖ περὶ Τιμαίου λέγειν, ὅπου γε καὶ οἱ ἥρωες ἐκείνοι, Ξενοφῶντα λέγω καὶ Πλάτωνα, καίτοιγε ἐκ τῆς Σωκράτους ὄντες παλαίστρας, ὅμως διὰ τὰ οὕτως μικροχαρῇ ποτε ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλανθάνονται; ὁ μὲν γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ γράφει πολιτεία· ἐκείνων μὲν γοῦν ἦττον μὲν ἂν φωνὴν ἀκούσαις ἢ τῶν λιθίνων, ἦττον δ' ἂν ὄμματα στρέψαις ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν, αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν 181<sup>7</sup> τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παρθένων.<sup>8</sup> Ἀμφικράτει καὶ οὐ Ξενοφῶντι ἔπρεπε τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν κόρας λέγειν παρθένους αἰδήμονας. οἷον δὲ Ἡράκλεις τὸ τὰς ἀπάντων ἐξῆς κόρας αἰσχυνηλὰς εἶναι πεπεῖσθαι, ὅπου φασὶν οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐνσημαίνεσθαι τήν τινων ἀναίδειαν ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς.

2 παρέλαβεν\*P. 5 πρ P. 6 ἰσοκράτους P. 7 ἀνδρίαν P.  
 μεσήνην P σ addidit m. rec. P. 13 ἦν] Manutius, ἀν P. 22 γ' οὖν  
 (sic ubique) P. τοῦτο ξενοφώντος in marg. P. 29 τήν τινων ἀναίδειαν  
 ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς· ἰταμόν· οἰνοβαρέσ· P.—delendum ἰταμόν tanquam glossema.  
 Vide Append. A.

Caecilius. In the course of a eulogy on Alexander the Great, he describes him as 'the man who gained possession of the whole of Asia in fewer years than it took Isocrates to write his *Panegyric* urging war against the Persians<sup>1</sup>.' Strange indeed is the comparison of the man of Macedon with the rhetorician. How plain it is, Timaeus, that the Lacedaemonians, thus judged, were far inferior to Isocrates in prowess, for they spent thirty years in the conquest of Messene, whereas he composed his *Panegyric* in ten. 3. Consider again the way in which he speaks of the Athenians who were captured in Sicily. 'They were punished because they had acted impiously towards Hermes and mutilated his images, and the infliction of punishment was chiefly due to Hermocrates the son of Hermon, who was descended, in the paternal line, from the outraged god<sup>1</sup>.' I am surprised, beloved Terentianus, that he does not write with regard to the despot Dionysius that 'Dion and Heracleides deprived him of his sovereignty because he had acted impiously towards Zeus and Heracles.' 4. But why speak of Timaeus when even those heroes of literature, Xenophon and Plato, though trained in the school of Socrates, nevertheless sometimes forget themselves for the sake of such paltry pleasantries? Xenophon writes in the *Polity of the Lacedaemonians*: 'You would find it harder to hear their voice than that of busts of marble, harder to deflect their gaze than that of statues of bronze; you would deem them more modest than the very maidens in their eyes<sup>2</sup>.'

It was worthy of an Amphicrates and not of a Xenophon to call the pupils of our eyes 'modest maidens.' Good heavens, how strange it is that the pupils of the whole company should be believed to be modest notwithstanding the common saying that the shamelessness of individuals is indicated by nothing so much as the eyes! 'Thou sot, that hast the eyes

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Timaeus*.

<sup>2</sup> Xen. *de Rep. Laced.* III. 5.

‘οἶνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ’ ἔχων’ φησὶν. 5. ὁ μέντοι Τίμαιος, ὡς φωρίου τινὸς ἐφαπτόμενος, οὐδὲ τοῦτο Ξενοφῶντι τὸ ψυχρὸν κατέλιπεν. φησὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαθοκλέους καὶ τὸ ‘τὴν ἀνειψιὰν ἐτέρῳ δεδομένην ἐκ τῶν  
 5 ἀνακαλυπτηρίων ἀρπάσαντα ἀπελθεῖν· ὁ τίς ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κόρας, μὴ πόρνας ἔχων;’ 6. τί δέ; ὁ τᾶλλα θεῖος Πλάτων· τὰς δέλτους θέλων εἰπεῖν ‘γράψαντες’ φησὶν ‘ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς θήσουσι κυπαριττίνας μνήμας.’ καὶ πάλιν ‘περὶ δὲ τειχῶν, ὦ Μέγилле, ἐγὼ ξυμφεροίμην ἂν τῇ  
 10 Σπάρτῃ τὸ καθεύδειν ἔαν ἐν τῇ γῇ κατακείμενα τὰ τείχη, καὶ μὴ ἐπανίστασθαι.’ 7. καὶ τὸ Ἡροδότειον οὐ πόρρω, τὸ φάναι τὰς καλὰς γυναῖκας ‘ἀλγηδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν.’ καίτοιγε ἔχει τινὰ παραμυθίαν, οἱ γὰρ παρ’ αὐτῷ ταυτὶ λέγοντές εἰσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐν μέθῃ, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐκ  
 15 τοιούτων προσώπων διὰ μικροψυχίαν καλὸν ἀσχημονεῖν πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα.

## V

Ἄπαντα μέντοι τὰ οὕτως ἄσεμνα διὰ μίαν ἐμφύεται τοῖς λόγοις αἰτίαν, διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόσπουδον, περὶ ὃ δὴ μάλιστα κορυβαντιῶσιν οἱ νῦν· ἀφ’ ὧν γὰρ  
 20 ἡμῖν τὰγαθὰ, σχεδὸν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὰ κακὰ 182 γεννᾶσθαι φιλεῖ. ὅθεν ἐπίφορον εἰς συνταγμάτων κατόρθωσιν τά τε κάλλη τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ τὰ ὕψη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις αἱ ἡδοναί· καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθάπερ τῆς ἐπιτυχίας, οὕτως ἀρχαὶ καὶ ὑποθέσεις καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων καθίστανται.  
 25 τοιούτόν πως καὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ καὶ ὑπερβολαὶ καὶ τὰ πληθυντικά· δείξομεν δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃν ἔχειν εἰκόασι. διόπερ ἀναγκαῖον ἤδη διαπορεῖν καὶ

6 τ’ ἄλλα P.

7 περὶ Πλάτωνος in marg. P.

11 περὶ Ἡροδότου

in marg. P.

14 μέθει P.

21 φιλεῖ P.

ἐπίφορον (o super-

scripto a m. rec.) P.

22 κάλλει corr. κάλλη P.

of a dog,' as Homer has it<sup>1</sup>. 5. Timaeus, however, has not left even this piece of frigidity to Xenophon, but clutches it as though it were hid treasure. At all events, after saying of Agathocles that he abducted his cousin, who had been given in marriage to another man, from the midst of the nuptial rites, he asks, 'Who could have done this had he not had wantons, in place of maidens, in his eyes?' 6. Yes, and Plato (usually so divine) when he means simply *tablets* says, 'They shall write and preserve *cypress memorials* in the temples<sup>2</sup>.'

And again, 'As touching walls, Megillus, I should hold with Sparta that they be suffered to lie asleep in the earth and not summoned to arise<sup>3</sup>.' 7. The expression of Herodotus to the effect that beautiful women are 'eye-smarts' is not much better<sup>4</sup>. This, however, may be condoned in some degree since those who use this particular phrase in his narrative are barbarians and in their cups, but not even in the mouths of such characters is it well that an author should suffer, in the judgment of posterity, from an unseemly exhibition of triviality.

## V

All these ugly and parasitical growths arise in literature from a single cause, that pursuit of novelty in the expression of ideas which may be regarded as the fashionable craze of the day. Our defects usually spring, for the most part, from the same sources as our good points. Hence, while beauties of expression and touches of sublimity, and charming elegances withal, are favourable to effective composition, yet these very things are the elements and foundation, not only of success, but also of the contrary. Something of the kind is true also of variations and hyperboles and the use of the plural number, and we shall show subsequently the dangers to which these seem severally to be exposed. It is necessary now to

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* I. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Legg.* v. 741 C.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Legg.* vi. 778 D.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. v. 18.

ὑποτίθεσθαι, δι' ὅτον τρόπον τὰς ἀνακεκραμένας κακίας  
τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἐκφεύγειν δυνάμεθα.

## VI

\*Ἔστι δέ, ὦ φίλος, εἴ τινα περιποιησαίμεθ' ἐν πρώτοις  
καθαρὰν τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὕψους ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἐπίκρισιν.  
5 καίτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα δύσληπτον· ἡ γὰρ τῶν λόγων κρίσις  
πολλῆς ἐστι πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ',  
ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐν παραγγέλματι, ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν ἴσως τὴν  
διάγνωσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀδύνατον πορίζεσθαι.

## VII

Εἰδέναι χρή, φίλτατε, διότι, καθάπερ κὰν τῷ κοινῷ  
10 βίῳ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει μέγα, οὐδ' τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἐστὶ μέγα,  
οἷον πλοῦτοι τιμαὶ δόξαι τυραννίδες, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα  
ἔχει πολὺ τὸ ἔξωθεν προστραγωδούμενον, οὐκ ἂν τῷ γε  
φρονίμῳ δόξειεν ἀγαθὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα, ὧν αὐτὸ τὸ  
περιφρονεῖν ἀγαθὸν οὐ μέτριον· θαυμάζουσι γοῦν τῶν  
15 ἐχόντων αὐτὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς δυναμένους ἔχειν καὶ διὰ  
μεγαλοψυχίαν ὑπερορῶντας· τῇδὲ πού καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διηρ-  
μένων ἐν ποιήμασι καὶ λόγοις ἐπισκεπτέον, μή τινα  
μεγέθους φαντασίαν ἔχοι τοιαύτην, ἥ πολὺν πρόσκειται 182<sup>ν</sup>  
τὸ εἰκὴ προσαναπλαττόμενον, ἀναπτυττόμενα δὲ ἄλλως  
20 εὐρίσκειτο χαῖνα, ὧν τοῦ θαυμάζειν τὸ περιφρονεῖν  
εὐγενέστερον. 2. φύσει γάρ πως ὑπὸ τὰ ληθοῦς ὕψους  
ἐπαίρεται τε ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ γαῦρόν τι ἀνάστημα  
λαμβάνουσα πληροῦται χαρᾶς καὶ μεγαλαυχίας, ὥς αὐτὴ  
γεννήσασα ὅπερ ἤκουσεν. 3. ὅταν οὖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς  
25 ἔμφρονος καὶ ἐμπείρου λόγων πολλάκις ἀκουόμενόν τι  
πρὸς μεγαλοφροσύνην τὴν ψυχὴν μὴ συνδιατιθῇ, μὴδ'

18 τοιαύτη P, correxit m, rec.

22 ἀνάστημα] libri deteriores, ἀνάθημα P.

seek and to suggest means by which we may avoid the defects which attend the steps of the sublime.

## VI

The best means would be, my friend, to gain, first of all, clear knowledge and appreciation of the true sublime. The enterprise is, however, an arduous one. For the judgment of style is the last and crowning fruit of long experience. None the less, if I must speak in the way of precept, it is not impossible perhaps to acquire discrimination in these matters by attention to some such hints as those which follow.

## VII

You must know, my dear friend, that it is with the sublime as in the common life of man. In life nothing can be considered great which it is held great to despise. For instance, riches, honours, distinctions, sovereignties, and all other things which possess in abundance the external trappings of the stage, will not seem, to a man of sense, to be supreme blessings, since the very contempt of them is reckoned good in no small degree, and in any case those who could have them, but are high-souled enough to disdain them, are more admired than those who have them. So also in the case of sublimity in poems and prose writings, we must consider whether some supposed examples have not simply the appearance of elevation with many idle accretions, so that when analysed they are found to be mere vanity—objects which a noble nature will rather despise than admire. 2. For, as if instinctively, our soul is uplifted by the true sublime; it takes a proud flight, and is filled with joy and vaunting, as though it had itself produced what it has heard. 3. When, therefore, a thing is heard repeatedly by a man of intelligence, who is well versed in literature, and its effect is not to dispose the soul to

ἐγκαταλείπη τῇ διανοίᾳ πλείον τοῦ λεγομένου τὸ ἀναθεω-  
 ρούμενον, πίπτῃ δ', ἂν εὖ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπισκοπῆς, εἰς  
 ἀπαύξησιν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ἀληθὲς ὕψος εἴη μέχρι μόνῃς τῆς  
 ἀκοῆς σφζόμενον. τοῦτο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι μέγα, οὐ πολλή  
 5 μὲν ἢ ἀναθεώρησις, δύσκολος δέ, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδύνατος ἢ  
 κατεξανάστασις, ἰσχυρὰ δὲ ἢ μνήμη καὶ δυσεξάλειπτος.  
 4. ὅλως δὲ καλὰ νόμιζε ὕψη καὶ ἀληθινὰ τὰ διὰ παντὸς  
 ἀρέσκοντα καὶ πᾶσιν. ὅταν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὸ διαφόρων  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων βίων ζήλων ἡλικιῶν λόγων ἔν τι καὶ ταῦτόν  
 10 ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπασιν δοκῇ, τόθ' ἢ ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων  
 ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκατάθεσις τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θαυμαζομένῳ  
 πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν λαμβάνει καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον.

## VIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πέντε, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πηγαί τινές εἰσιν αἱ τῆς  
 ὑψηγορίας γονιμώταται, προὔποκειμένης ὥσπερ ἐδάφους  
 15 τινὸς κοινοῦ ταῖς πέντε ταύταις ἰδέαις τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν  
 δυνάμεως, ἥς ὅλως χωρὶς οὐδέν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ κράτιστον  
 τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον, ὡς καὶ τοῖς περὶ  
 Ξενοφῶντος ὠρισάμεθα· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ  
 ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν δύο αὗται τοῦ ὕψους  
 20 κατὰ τὸ πλεόν ἀνθυγενεῖς συστάσεις, αἱ λοιπαὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ  
 διὰ τέχνης, ἣ τε ποιά τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις (δισσὰ δέ  
 που ταῦτα τὰ μὲν νοήσεως, θάτερα δὲ λέξεως), ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τούτοις ἢ γενναία φράσις, ἥς μέρη πάλιν ὀνομάτων τε  
 ἐκλογὴ καὶ ἢ τροπικὴ καὶ πεποιημένη λέξις· πέμπτη δὲ  
 25 μεγέθους αἰτία καὶ συγκλείουσα τὰ πρὸ ἑαυτῆς ἅπαντα, ἢ

1 ἐγκαταλείπη P ἐγκαταλείπη P. 2 ἂν εὖ τὸ] Reiskius, ἀνευ|\*\* τὸ P.  
 4 σφζόμενον P. 14 γονιμώταται P. προ|ὑποκειμένης (η corr. in ras.) P.  
 17 ἀδρεπήβολον] cum hac voce desinit f. 182<sup>v</sup>. totum qui sequitur ab ὡς ad  
 ἰδέσθαι p. 64. 15 locum om. P, cuius in margine imo adscriptum est a manu  
 recenti: λείπει desunt folia octo seu quaternio KE. quaternionis huius folia duo  
 exteriora (p. 56. 17 ὡς—p. 60. 17 ἡρκέσθη et p. 60. 18 τὸ ἐπ' οὐρανόν—p. 64. 15  
 ἰδέσθαι), in codd. dett. hodie servata, ex P iam Victorii aetate (anno 1568) ex-  
 ciderant. 25 πρὸ ἑαυτῆς] codd. praeter P<sup>ar</sup>. 2060 qui πρὸς αὐτῆς praebet.  
 πρὸ αὐτῆς Spengeliu, Iahnus.

high thoughts, and it does not leave in the mind more food for reflexion than the words seem to convey, but falls, if examined carefully through and through, into disesteem, it cannot rank as true sublimity because it does not survive a first hearing. For that is really great which bears a repeated examination, and which it is difficult or rather impossible to withstand, and the memory of which is strong and hard to efface. 4. In general, consider those examples of sublimity to be fine and genuine which please all and always. For when men of different pursuits, lives, ambitions, ages, languages, hold identical views on one and the same subject, then that verdict which results, so to speak, from a concert of discordant elements makes our faith in the object of admiration strong and unassailable.

## VIII

There are, it may be said, five principal sources of elevated language. Beneath these five varieties there lies, as though it were a common foundation, the gift of discourse, which is indispensable. First and most important is the power of forming great conceptions, as we have elsewhere explained in our remarks on Xenophon. Secondly, there is vehement and inspired passion. These two components of the sublime are for the most part innate. Those which remain are partly the product of art. The due formation of figures deals with two sorts of figures, first those of thought and secondly those of expression. Next there is noble diction, which in turn comprises choice of words, and use of metaphors, and elaboration of language. The fifth cause of elevation—one which is the fitting conclusion of all that have preceded it—is dignified



ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις· φέρε δὴ τὰ ἐμπεριεχόμενα καθ' ἑκάστην ιδέαν τούτων ἐπισκεψώμεθα, τοσοῦτον προειπόντες, ὅτι τῶν πέντε μορίων ὁ Κεκίλιος ἔστιν ἃ παρέλιπεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀμέλει. 2. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὡς  
 5 ἐν τι ταῦτ' ἄμφω, τό τε ὕψος καὶ τὸ παθητικόν, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πάντη συννύπρχειν τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ συμπεφυκέναι, διαμαρτάνει· καὶ γὰρ πάθη τινὰ διεστῶτα ὕψους καὶ ταπεινὰ εὐρίσκεται, καθάπερ οἴκτοι λῦπαι φόβοι, καὶ ἔμπαλιν πολλὰ ὕψη δίχα πάθους, ὡς πρὸς μυρίοις ἄλλοις  
 10 καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἀλωάδας τῷ ποιητῇ παρατετολμημένα,  
 "Οσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' "Οσση Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἔν' οὐρανὸς ἄμβατος εἴη·  
 καὶ τὸ τούτοις ἔτι μεῖζον ἐπιφερόμενον,  
 καὶ νύ κεν ἐξετέλεσσαν.

15 3. παρά γε μὴν τοῖς ῥήτορσι τὰ ἐγκώμια καὶ τὰ πομπικὰ καὶ ἐπιδεικτικὰ τὸν μὲν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐξ ἅπαντος περιέχει, πάθους δὲ χηρεύει κατὰ τὸ πλείστον, ὅθεν ἥκιστα τῶν ῥητόρων οἱ περιπαθεῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ ἢ ἔμπαλιν οἱ ἐπαινετικοὶ περιπαθεῖς. 4. εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐξ ὅλου  
 20 μὴ ἐνόμισεν ὁ Κεκίλιος τὸ ἐμπαθὲς <ἐς> τὰ ὕψη ποτὲ συντελεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐχ ἡγήσατο μνήμης ἄξιον, πάννυ διηπάτηται· θαρρῶν γὰρ ἀφορισαίμην ἄν, ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον πάθος, ἔνθα χρή, μεγαλήγορον, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μανίας τινὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἐνθουσιαστικῶς ἐκπνέον  
 25 καὶ οἶονεὶ φοιβάζον τοὺς λόγους.

## IX

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὴν κρατίστην μοῖραν ἐπέχει τῶν ἄλλων τὸ πρῶτον, λέγω δὲ τὸ μεγαλοφυές, χρή κἀνταῦθα,

20 ἐς] Faber, Vahlenus, om. libri. Cp. XXXIX. 1 τῶν συντελουσῶν εἰς τὸ ὕψος.  
 post ἐμπαθὲς facile excidisse potest ἐς. 23 ἢ-μεγαλήγορον] El. Robortellus,  
 μεγαλήγορον libri ceteri.

and elevated composition. Come now, let us consider what is involved in each of these varieties, with this one remark by way of preface, that Caecilius has omitted some of the five divisions, for example, that of passion. 2. Surely he is quite mistaken if he does so on the ground that these two, sublimity and passion, are a unity, and if it seems to him that they are by nature one and inseparable. For some passions are found which are far removed from sublimity and are of a low order, such as pity, grief and fear ; and on the other hand there are many examples of the sublime which are independent of passion, such as the daring words of Homer with regard to the Aloadae, to take one out of numberless instances,

Yea, Ossa in fury they strove to upheave on Olympus on high,  
With forest-clad Pelion above, that thence they might step to the  
sky<sup>1</sup>.

And so of the words which follow with still greater force:—

Ay, and the deed had they done<sup>2</sup>.

3. Among the orators, too, eulogies and ceremonial and occasional addresses contain on every side examples of dignity and elevation, but are for the most part void of passion. This is the reason why passionate speakers are the worst eulogists, and why, on the other hand, those who are apt in encomium are the least passionate. 4. If, on the other hand, Caecilius thought that passion never contributes at all to sublimity, and if it was for this reason that he did not deem it worthy of mention, he is altogether deluded. I would affirm with confidence that there is no tone so lofty as that of genuine passion, in its right place, when it bursts out in a wild gust of mad enthusiasm and as it were fills the speaker's words with frenzy.

## IX

Now the first of the conditions mentioned, namely elevation of mind, holds the foremost rank among them all. We must,

<sup>1</sup> *Odyss.* XI. 315, 316.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyss.* XI. 317.

καὶ εἰ δωρητὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα μᾶλλον ἢ κτητόν, ὅμως καθ' ὅσον οἶόν τε τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνατρέφειν πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐγκύμονας αἰεὶ ποιεῖν γενναίου παραστήματος.

2. τίνα, φήσεις, τρόπον; γέγραφέα πον καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ  
 5 τοιοῦτον· ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα. ὅθεν καὶ φωνῆς δίχα θαυμάζεται ποτε ψιλλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ἔννοια δι' αὐτὸ τὸ μεγαλόφρον, ὥς ἡ τοῦ Αἴαντος ἐν Νεκυίᾳ σιωπὴ μέγα καὶ παντὸς ὑψηλότερον λόγον. 3. πρῶτον οὖν τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίνεται προϋποτίθεται πάντως ἀναγκαῖον,  
 10 ὥς ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ ῥήτορα μὴ ταπεινὸν φρόνημα καὶ ἀγεννές. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόν τε μικρὰ καὶ δουλοπρεπῆ φρονούντας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντας παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον θαυμαστόν τι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐξενεγκεῖν ἄξιον· μεγάλοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι τούτων, κατὰ τὸ εἶκος, ὧν ἂν ἐμβριθεῖς ὦσιν  
 15 αἱ ἔννοιαι. 4. ταύτῃ καὶ εἰς τοὺς μάλιστα φρονηματίας ἐμπίπτει τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ· ὁ γὰρ τῷ Παρμενίωνι φήσαντι, 'ἐγὼ μὲν ἠρκέσθην' . . . .

## DESUNT SEX FOLIA

. . . . τὸ ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ γῆς διάστημα· καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποι τις οὐ μᾶλλον τῆς Ἑριδος ἢ Ὀμήρου μέτρον.  
 20 5. ᾧ ἀνόμοιον γε τὸ Ἡσιόδειον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀχλὺς, εἶγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα θετέον·

τῆς ἐκ μὲν ῥινῶν μύξαι ῥέον·

οὐ γὰρ δεινὸν ἐποίησε τὸ εἶδωλον, ἀλλὰ μισητόν. ὁ δὲ πῶς μεγεθύνει τὰ δαιμόνια;

25 ὅσσον δ' ἡρωειδὲς ἀνὴρ ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
 ἥμενος ἐν σκοπιῇ, λεύσσω ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·  
 τόσσον ἐπιθρώσκουσι θεῶν ὑψηλές ἵπποι.

τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν κοσμικῶ διαστήματι καταμετρεῖ. τίς

17 ἂν ἠρκέσθην libri deteriores excepto P 2960 cuius pr. m. ἀνηρκέ dat, supplet m. rec. σθην. 19 εἴποι] Manutius, εἰπεῖν libri.

therefore, in this case also, although we have to do rather with an endowment than with an acquirement, nurture our souls (as far as that is possible) to thoughts sublime, and make them always pregnant, so to say, with noble inspiration. 2. In what way, you may ask, is this to be done? Elsewhere I have written as follows: 'Sublimity is the echo of a great soul.' Hence also a bare idea, by itself and without a spoken word, sometimes excites admiration just because of the greatness of soul implied. Thus the silence of Ajax in the Underworld is great and more sublime than words<sup>1</sup>. 3. First, then, it is absolutely necessary to indicate the source of this elevation, namely, that the truly eloquent must be free from low and ignoble thoughts. For it is not possible that men with mean and servile ideas and aims prevailing throughout their lives should produce anything that is admirable and worthy of immortality. Great accents we expect to fall from the lips of those whose thoughts are deep and grave. 4. Thus it is that stately speech comes naturally to the proudest spirits. [You will remember the answer of] Alexander to Parmenio when he said 'For my part I had been well content'<sup>2</sup>.....

.....the distance from earth to heaven; and this might well be considered the measure of Homer no less than of Strife. 5. How unlike to this the expression which is used of Sorrow by Hesiod, if indeed the *Shield* is to be attributed to Hesiod:

Rheum from her nostrils was trickling<sup>3</sup>.

The image he has suggested is not terrible but rather loathsome. Contrast the way in which Homer magnifies the higher powers:

And far as a man with his eyes through the sea-line haze may discern,  
On a cliff as he sitteth and gazeth away o'er the wine-dark deep,  
So far at a bound do the loud-neighing steeds of the Deathless leap<sup>4</sup>.

He makes the vastness of the world the measure of their

<sup>1</sup> *Odyss.* XI. 543.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, p. 215 (quotation from Arrian).

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Scut.* 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* v. 770.

οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους ἐπιφθέγγαιτο, ὅτι ἂν δις ἐξῆς ἐφορμήσωσιν οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἵπποι, οὐκ ἐθ' εὐρήσουσιν ἐν κόσμῳ τόπον; 6. ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς θεομαχίας φαντάσματα.

- 5 ἀμφὶ δ' ἐσάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπός τε.  
ἔδδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀἰδωνεύς,  
δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο καὶ ἴαχε, μὴ οἱ ἔπειτα  
γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,  
οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη,  
10 σμερδαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοὶ περ.

ἐπιβλέπεις, ἑταῖρε, ὥς ἀναρρηγνυμένης μὲν ἐκ βάθρων γῆς, αὐτοῦ δὲ γυμνουμένου ταρτάρου, ἀνατροπὴν δὲ ὅλου καὶ διάστασιν τοῦ κόσμου λαμβάνοντος, πάνθ' ἅμα, οὐρανὸς ἄδης, τὰ θνητὰ τὰ ἀθάνατα, ἅμα τῇ τότε συμπο-  
15 λεμῇ καὶ συγκινδυνεύει μάχῃ; 7. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φοβερὰ μὲν, πλὴν ἄλλως, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἀλληγορίαν λαμβάνοιτο, παντάπασιν ἄθεα καὶ οὐ σφύζοντα τὸ πρέπον. Ὅμηρος γάρ μοι δοκεῖ παραδιδούς τραύματα θεῶν στάσεις τιμω-  
ρίας δάκρυα δεσμὰ πάθη πάμφυρτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν  
20 Ἰλιακῶν ἀνθρώπους, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει, θεοὺς πε-  
ποιηκέναι, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλ' ἡμῖν μὲν δυσδαιμονοῦσιν ἀπόκειται λιμὴν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος, τῶν θεῶν δ' οὐ τὴν φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ἐποίησεν αἰώνιον.  
8. πολὺ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεομαχίαν ἀμείνω τὰ ὅσα  
25 ἄχραντόν τι καὶ μέγα τὸ δαιμόνιον ὥς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄκρατον παρίστησιν, οἷα (πολλοῖς δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν ὁ τόπος ἐξείργασται) τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος,

τρέμε δ' οὖρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη  
καὶ κορυφαὶ Τρώων τε πόλεις καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν

leap. The sublimity is so overpowering as naturally to prompt the exclamation that if the divine steeds were to leap thus twice in succession they would pass beyond the confines of the world. 6. How transcendent also are the images in the Battle of the Gods:—

Far round wide heaven and Olympus echoed his clarion of thunder;  
And Hades, king of the realm of shadows, quaked thereunder.  
And he sprang from his throne, and he cried aloud in the dread  
of his heart  
Lest o'er him earth-shaker Poseidon should cleave the ground  
apart,  
And revealed to Immortals and mortals should stand those awful  
abodes,  
Those mansions ghastly and grim, abhorred of the very Gods<sup>1</sup>.

You see, my friend, how the earth is torn from its foundations, Tartarus itself is laid bare, the whole world is upturned and parted asunder, and all things together—heaven and hell, things mortal and things immortal—share in the conflict and the perils of that battle!

7. But although these things are awe-inspiring, yet from another point of view, if they be not taken allegorically, they are altogether impious, and violate our sense of what is fitting. Homer seems to me, in his legends of wounds suffered by the gods, and of their feuds, reprisals, tears, bonds, and all their manifold passions, to have made, as far as lay within his power, gods of the men concerned in the Siege of Troy, and men of the gods. But whereas we mortals have death as the destined haven of our ills if our lot is miserable, he portrays the gods as immortal not only in nature but also in misfortune. 8. Much superior to the passages respecting the Battle of the Gods are those which represent the divine nature as it really is—pure and great and undefiled; for example, what is said of Poseidon in a passage fully treated by many before ourselves:

Her far-stretching ridges, her forest-trees, quaked in dismay,  
And her peaks, and the Trojans' town, and the ships of Achaia's  
array,

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* XXI. 388, xx. 61—65.

ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος.  
βῆ δ' ἐλάαν ἐπὶ κύματ', ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν, οὐδ' ἠγνοίησεν ἄνακτα.  
γηθοσύνη δὲ θάλασσα διῆστατο, τοὶ δὲ πέτοντο.

5 9. ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν  
ἀνὴρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησε  
κᾶξέφηεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γραψας τῶν νόμων 'εἶπεν  
ὁ Θεός' φησί· τί; 'γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω  
γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο.' 10. οὐκ ὀχληρὸς ἂν ἴσως, ἐταῖρε,  
10 δόξαιμι, ἐν ἔτι τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παρα-  
θέμενος τοῦ μαθεῖν χάριν, ὥς εἰς τὰ ἡρωϊκὰ μεγέθη  
συνεμβαίνειν ἐθίζει. ἀχλὺς ἄφνω καὶ νύξ ἄπορος αὐτῷ  
τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπέχει μάχην· ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Αἴας ἀμυχανῶν,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, φησίν, ἀλλὰ σὺ ῥῦσαι ὑπ' ἡέρος νίης Ἀχαιῶν,  
15 ποίησον δ' αἶθρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι· |  
ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον.

183<sup>r</sup>

ἔστιν ὥς ἀληθῶς τὸ πάθος Αἴαντος, οὐ γὰρ ζῆν εὐχεται  
(ἦν γὰρ τὸ αἶτημα τοῦ ἥρωος ταπεινότερον), ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ  
ἐν ἀπράκτῳ σκότει τὴν ἀνδρίαν εἰς οὐδὲν γενναῖον εἶχε  
20 διαθέσθαι, διὰ ταῦτ' ἀγανακτῶν ὅτι πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἀργεῖ,  
φῶς ὅτι τάχιστα αἰτεῖται, ὥς πάντως τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐρήσων  
ἐντάφιον ἄξιον, καὶ αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ἀντιτάττεται. 11. ἀλλὰ  
γὰρ Ὅμηρος μὲν ἐνθάδε οὐριος συνεμπνέει τοῖς ἀγῶσιν,  
καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι αὐτὸς πέπονθεν ἢ

25 μαίνεται, ὥς ὅτ' Ἄρης ἐγχέσπαλος ἢ ὀλοὸν πῦρ  
οὔρεσι μαίνεται, βαθέης ἐνὶ τάρφεσιν ὕλης,  
ἀφλοισμὸς δὲ περὶ στόμα γίγνεται·

δείκνυσι δ' ὁμως διὰ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα

5 ταύτη—9 ἐγένετο] de hoc loco, quem uncis inclusit Spengelius, vide sis  
Append. C, s. n. MOSES. θεσμοθέτης] libri omnes excepto cod. El. qui  
θεσμοδέτης praestat. θεσμοδότης (aetatis recentioris vocabulum) in textum recipiunt  
Robortellus et nuper Spengelius. 19 ἀνδρῆϊαν P. 25 ἐγχέσπαλος P.  
27 ἀφλοισμὸς P.

Beneath his immortal feet, as onward Poseidon strode.  
 Then over the surges he drave: leapt sporting before the God  
 Sea-beasts that uprose all round from the depths, for their king  
     they knew,  
 And for rapture the sea was disparted, and onward the car-steeds  
     flew<sup>1</sup>.

9. Similarly, the legislator of the Jews, no ordinary man, having formed and expressed a worthy conception of the might of the Godhead, writes at the very beginning of his Laws, 'God said'—what? 'Let there be light, and there was light; let there be land, and there was land<sup>2</sup>.' 10. Perhaps I shall not seem tedious, my friend, if I bring forward one passage more from Homer—this time with regard to the concerns of *men*—in order to show that he is wont himself to enter into the sublime actions of his heroes. In his poem the battle of the Greeks is suddenly veiled by mist and baffling night. Then Ajax, at his wits' end, cries:

Zeus, Father, yet save thou Achaia's sons from beneath the gloom,  
 And make clear day, and vouchsafe unto us with our eyes to see!  
 So it be but in light, destroy us<sup>3</sup>!

That is the true attitude of an Ajax. He does not pray for life, for such a petition would have ill beseeemed a hero. But since in the hopeless darkness he can turn his valour to no noble end, he chafes at his slackness in the fray and craves the boon of immediate light, resolved to find a death worthy of his bravery, even though Zeus should fight in the ranks against him. 11. In truth, Homer in these cases shares the full inspiration of the combat, and it is neither more nor less than true of the poet himself that

Mad rageth he as Arês the shaker of spears, or as mad flames  
     leap  
 Wild-wasting from hill unto hill in the folds of a forest deep,  
 And the foam-froth fringeth his lips<sup>4</sup>.

He shows, however, in the *Odyssey* (and this further

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* XIII. 18, XX. 60, XIII. 19, XIII. 27—29.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Moses*.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* XVII. 645—647.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* XV. 605—607.



πολλῶν ἔνεκα προσεπιθεωρητέον), ὅτι μεγάλης φύσεως ὑποφερομένης ἤδη ἰδίων ἐστὶν ἐν γήρᾳ τὸ φιλόμυθον.

12. δῆλος γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν τε ἄλλων συντεθεικῶς ταύτην δευτέραν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦ λείψανα τῶν  
5 Ἰλιακῶν παθημάτων διὰ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας ὡς ἐπεισὸδιά  
τινα τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ πολέμου προσεπεισφέρειν, καὶ νῆ Δί  
ἐκ τοῦ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις καὶ τοὺς οἴκτους ὡς πάλαι πον  
προεγνωσμένους τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἐνταῦθα προσαποδιδόναι.  
οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ἐπίλογός ἐστιν ἡ Ὀδύσεια.

10 ἔνθα μὲν Αἴας κεῖται ἀρήϊος, ἔνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
ἔνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος, θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος.  
ἔνθα δ' ἐμὸς φίλος υἱός.

13. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, οἶμαι, τῆς μὲν Ἰλιάδος  
γραφομένης ἐν ἀκμῇ πνεύματος ὅλον τὸ σωματίον δρα-  
15 ματικὸν ὑπεστήσατο | καὶ ἐναγώνιον, τῆς δὲ Ὀδυσσεΐας 183<sup>v</sup>  
τὸ πλεόν διηγηματικόν, ὅπερ ἰδιον γήρως. ὅθεν ἐν τῇ  
Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ παρεικάσαι τις ἂν καταδυομένῳ τὸν Ὅμηρον  
ἡλίῳ, οὗ δίχα τῆς σφοδρότητος παραμένει τὸ μέγεθος.  
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς ἐκείνοις ποιήμασιν ἴσον ἐνταῦθα  
20 σώζει τὸν τόνον, οὐδ' ἐξωμαλισμένα τὰ ὕψη καὶ ἱζήματα  
μηδαμοῦ λαμβάνοντα, οὐδὲ τὴν πρόχυσιν ὁμοίαν τῶν  
ἐπαλλήλων παθῶν, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀγχίστροφον καὶ πολιτικὸν  
καὶ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας φαντασίαις καταπεπυκνωμένον.  
ἀλλ' οἷον ὑποχωροῦντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ περὶ  
25 τὰ ἴδια μέτρα ἐρρημουμένου τὸ λοιπὸν φαίνονται τοῦ  
μεγέθους ἀμπώτιδες καὶ τοῖς μυθώδεσι καὶ ἀπίστοις  
πλάνος. 14. λέγων δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπιλέλησμαι τῶν ἐν  
τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ χειμῶνων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κύκλωπα καί  
τινων ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ γήρας διηγοῦμαι, γήρας δ' ὅμως  
30 Ὅμηρου· πλὴν ἐν ἅπασιν τούτοις ἐξῆς τοῦ πρακτικοῦ  
κρατεῖ τὸ μυθικόν. παρεξέβην δ' εἰς ταῦθ', ὡς ἔφην, ἵνα

2 γήρα\* P. 20 σώζει P. ἐξωμαλι\*\*\*να P ἐξωμαλισμένα P.  
27 τῶν addidit m. rec. P. 28 ὀδ\*σσεια P ὀδυσεια P.

observation deserves attention on many grounds) that, when a great genius is declining, the special token of old age is the love of marvellous tales. 12. It is clear from many indications that the *Odyssey* was his second subject. A special proof is the fact that he introduces in that poem remnants of the adventures before Ilium as episodes, so to say, of the Trojan War. And indeed, he there renders a tribute of mourning and lamentation to his heroes as though he were carrying out a long-cherished purpose. In fact, the *Odyssey* is simply an epilogue to the *Iliad* :—

There lieth Ajax the warrior wight, Achilles is there,  
There is Patroclus, whose words had weight as a God he were ;  
There lieth mine own dear son<sup>1</sup>.

13. It is for the same reason, I suppose, that he has made the whole structure of the *Iliad*, which was written at the height of his inspiration, full of action and conflict, while the *Odyssey* for the most part consists of narrative, as is characteristic of old age. Accordingly, in the *Odyssey* Homer may be likened to a sinking sun, whose grandeur remains without its intensity. He does not in the *Odyssey* maintain so high a pitch as in those poems of Ilium. His sublimities are not evenly sustained and free from the liability to sink ; there is not the same profusion of accumulated passions, nor the supple and oratorical style, packed with images drawn from real life. You seem to see henceforth the ebb and flow of greatness, and a fancy roving in the fabulous and incredible, as though the ocean were withdrawing into itself and were being laid bare within its own confines. 14. In saying this I have not forgotten the tempests in the *Odyssey* and the story of the Cyclops and the like. If I speak of old age, it is nevertheless the old age of Homer. The fabulous element, however, prevails throughout this poem over the real. The object of this digression has been, as I said, to show how

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* III. 109—111.

δείξαιμι, ὥς εἰς λήρον ἐνίστε ῥᾶστον κατὰ τὴν ἀπακμὴν τὰ  
 μεγαλοφυῇ παρατρέπεται οἷα τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄσκον καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐκ Κίρκης συοφορβουμένους, οὓς ὁ Ζώϊλος ἔφη χοιρίδια  
 κλαίοντα, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πελειάδων ὥς νεοσσὸν παρα-  
 5 τρεφόμενον Δία καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυαγίου δέχ' ἡμέρας  
 ἄσιτον τά τε περὶ τὴν μνηστηροφονίαν ἀπίθانا. τί  
 γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο φήσαιμεν ταῦτα ἢ τῷ ὄντι τρυ Διὸς ἐνύπνια;  
 15. δευτέρου δὲ εἵνεκα προσιστορείσθω τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ὀδύσειαν, ὅπως ἡ σοι γνώριμον, ὥς ἡ ἀπακμὴ τοῦ 184<sup>r</sup>  
 10 πάθους ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ποιηταῖς εἰς  
 ἥθος ἐκλύεται. τοιαῦτα γὰρ που τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσ-  
 σέως ἠθικῶς αὐτῷ βιολογούμενα οἰκίαν, οἷονεὶ κωμῳδία  
 τίς ἐστὶν ἠθολογουμένη.

## X

Φέρε νῦν, εἴ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἔχοιμεν ὑψηλοὺς ποιεῖν  
 15 τοὺς λόγους δυνάμενον, ἐπισκεψώμεθα. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ  
 πᾶσι τοῖς πράγμασι φύσει συνεδρεύει τινὰ μόρια ταῖς  
 ὕλαις συνυπάρχοντα, ἐξ ἀνάγκης γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ὕψους  
 αἴτιον τὸ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἐκλέγειν ἀεὶ τὰ καιριώτατα  
 καὶ ταῦτα τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐπισυνθέσει καθάπερ ἔν τι  
 20 σῶμα ποιεῖν δύνασθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῇ ἐκλογῇ τὸν ἀκροατὴν  
 τῶν λημμάτων, ὁ δὲ τῇ πυκνώσει τῶν ἐκλελεγμένων  
 προσάγεται. οἷον ἡ Σαπφὼ τὰ συμβαίνοντα ταῖς ἐρωτι-  
 καῖς μανίαις παθήματα ἐκ τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς  
 ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ἐκάστοτε λαμβάνει. ποῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν  
 25 ἀποδείκνυται; ὅτε τὰ ἄκρα αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερτεταμένα δεινὰ  
 καὶ ἐκλέξαι καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα συνδῆσαι.

1 ἀπακμὴν] Manutius, ἀκμὴν P. 18 ἐμφερομένων] Tollius, ἐκφερομένων P.  
 20, 21 ὁ μὲν—ὁ δὲ] Pearcius, ὁ μὲν—ὁ δὲ P.

easily great natures in their decline are sometimes diverted into absurdity, as in the incident of the wine-skin and of the men who were fed like swine by Circe (*whining porkers*, as Zoilus called them), and of Zeus like a nestling nurtured by the doves, and of the hero who was without food for ten days upon the wreck, and of the incredible tale of the slaying of the suitors<sup>1</sup>. For what else can we term these things than veritable dreams of Zeus? 15. These observations with regard to the *Odyssey* should be made for another reason—in order that you may know that the genius of great poets and prose-writers, as their passion declines, finds its final expression in the delineation of character. For such are the details which Homer gives, with an eye to characterisation, of life in the home of Odysseus; they form as it were a comedy of manners.

## X

Let us next consider whether we can point to anything further that contributes to sublimity of style. Now, there inhere in all things by nature certain constituents which are part and parcel of their substance. It must needs be, therefore, that we shall find one source of the sublime in the systematic selection of the most important elements, and the power of forming, by their mutual combination, what may be called one body. The former process attracts the hearer by the choice of the ideas, the latter by the aggregation of those chosen. For instance, Sappho everywhere chooses the emotions that attend delirious passion from its accompaniments in actual life. Wherein does she demonstrate her supreme excellence? In the skill with which she selects and binds together the most striking and vehement circumstances of passion:—

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* IX. 182, X. 17, X. 237, XII. 62, XII. 447, XXII. 79.

2. φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν  
ἔμμεν ὦνῆρ, ὅστις ἐναντίος τοι  
ἰζάνει, καὶ πλησίον ἀδὺ φωνεύ-  
σας ὑπακούει

5 καὶ γελαίσας ἱμερόεν, τό μοι μὰν  
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν.  
ὥς σε γὰρ ἴδω βροχέως με φωνᾶς  
οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει·

10 ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλώσσα ἔαγε· λεπτόν δ'  
αὐτίκα χρώ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν·  
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημ', ἐπιρρόμ-  
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι·

15 καὶ δέ μ' ἰδρὼς κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ  
παῖσαν ἀγρεῖ, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας  
ἐμμί· τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω | 'πιδεύην  
φαίνομαι.

184<sup>v</sup>

ἀλλὰ πᾶν τολματόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα

3. οὐ θαυμάζεις, ὥς ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ σῶμα  
τὰς ἀκοὰς τὴν γλώσσαν τὰς ὄψεις τὴν χροάν, πάνθ' ὥς  
20 ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ καθ' ὑπεναντιώσεις ἅμα  
ψύχεται κᾶεται, ἀλογιστεῖ φρονεῖ; ἢ γὰρ φοβεῖται ἢ  
παρ' ὀλίγον τέθνηκεν· ἵνα μὴ ἔν τι περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος  
φαίνεται, παθῶν δὲ σύνοδος. πάντα μὲν τοιαῦτα γίνεται  
περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντας, ἢ λήψις δ' ὥς ἔφην τῶν ἄκρων καὶ ἢ  
25 εἰς ταῦτ' συναίρεσις ἀπειργάσατο τὴν ἐξοχήν· ὄνπερ  
οἶμαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειμῶνων τρόπον ὁ ποιητὴς ἐκλαμβάνει

1—17 In P continue scripta sunt Sapphus verba hunc in modum : φαίνεται μοι|κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμενων ὦνῆρ\*στις ἐναντίος τοιζᾶ|ν καὶ πλησίον ἀδύφω· σαῖς ὑπακούει καὶ γελαῖ\*σι|μερόεντὸ μὲν ἱμᾶν καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν· ὥς|γὰρ σῖδω βροχέως με φωνᾶς οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει· ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλώσσα ἔαγε λεπτόν δ' αὐτίκα χρώ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημ' ἐπιρρόμβεισι δ' ἄκουε· ἐκαδε μὲν ἰδρὼς ψυχρὸς κακχέεται τρόμος δὲ πᾶσα νᾶγρεῖ χλωροτέρα δὲ ποία σέμμι τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω|πιδεύσιν φαίνομαι· ἀλλὰ παντόλμα\*τον ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα. Vide Append. A. 18 θαυμάζεις] Robortellus, θαυμάζοις P. ὑπὸ τὸ] Spengelius (in proleg.), ὑπ' P. 21 κᾶεται P. ἀλογιστεῖ] Manutius, ἀλογιστὶ P. 25 ὄνπερ] Manutius, ὄπερ P. 26 τῶν superscr. τὸν P.

2. Peer of Gods he seemeth to me, the blissful  
 Man who sits and gazes at thee before him,  
 Close beside thee sits, and in silence hears thee  
 Silverly speaking,

Laughing love's low laughter. Oh this, this only  
 Stirs the troubled heart in my breast to tremble!  
 For should I but see thee a little moment,  
 Straight is my voice hushed;

Yea, my tongue is broken, and through and through me  
 'Neath the flesh impalpable fire runs tingling;  
 Nothing see mine eyes, and a noise of roaring  
 Waves in my ear sounds;

Sweat runs down in rivers, a tremor seizes  
 All my limbs, and paler than grass in autumn,  
 Caught by pains of menacing death, I falter,  
 Lost in the love-trance<sup>1</sup>.

3. Are you not amazed how at one instant she summons,  
 as though they were all alien from herself and dispersed, soul,  
 body, ears, tongue, eyes, colour? Uniting contradictions, she  
 is, at one and the same time, hot and cold, in her senses and  
 out of her mind, for she is either terrified or at the point  
 of death. The effect desired is that not one passion only  
 should be seen in her, but a concourse of the passions. All  
 such things occur in the case of lovers, but it is, as I said, the  
 selection of the most striking of them and their combination  
 into a single whole that has produced the singular excellence  
 of the passage. In the same way Homer, when describing

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Sappho*.

τῶν παρακολουθούντων τὰ χαλεπώτατα. 4. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
τὰ Ἀριμάσπεια ποιήσας ἐκεῖνα οἶεται δεινά·

θαῦμ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα φρεσὶν ἡμετέρησιν.  
ἄνδρες ὕδωρ ναίουσιν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι·  
5 δύστηνοὶ τινὲς εἰσιν, ἔχουσι γὰρ ἔργα πονηρά,  
ῥμματ' ἐν ἄστροισι, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ ἔχουσιν.  
ἡ που πολλὰ θεοῖσι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντες  
εὗχονται σπλάγχχοισι κακῶς ἀναβαλλομένοισι.

παντὶ οἶμαι δῆλον, ὥς πλεόν ἄνθος ἔχει τὰ λεγόμενα ἢ  
10 δέος. 5. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος πῶς; ἐν γὰρ ἀπὸ πολλῶν λε-  
γέσθω·

ἐν δ' ἔπεισ', ὥς ὅτε κύμα θοῇ ἐν νηὶ πέσῃσι  
λάβρον ὑπαὶ νεφέων ἀνεμοτρεφές, ἡ δέ τε πᾶσα  
ἄχνη ὑπεκρύφθη, ἀνέμοιο δὲ δεινὸς ἀήτης  
15 ἰστίῳ ἐμβρέμεται, τρομέουσι δέ τε φρένα ναῦται  
δειδιότες· τυτθὸν γὰρ ὑπὲκ θανάτοιο φέρονται.

6. ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ὁ Ἄρατος τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μετενεγκεῖν,

ὀλίγον δὲ διὰ ξύλον αἰδ' ἐ|ρύκει·

185<sup>r</sup>

πλὴν μικρὸν αὐτὸ καὶ γλαφυρὸν ἐποίησεν ἀντὶ φοβεροῦ·  
20 ἔτι δὲ παρώρισε τὸν κίνδυνον, εἰπὼν, 'ξύλον αἰδ' ἀπείργει.'  
οὐκοῦν ἀπείργει. ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς οὐκ εἰς ἄπαξ παρορίζει τὸ  
δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αἰεὶ καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ κατὰ πᾶν κύμα  
πολλάκις ἀπολλυμένους εἰκονογραφεῖ. καὶ μὴν τὰς προ-  
θέσεις ἀσυνθέτους οὕσας συναναγκάσας\*παρὰ φύσιν καὶ  
25 εἰς ἀλλήλας συμβιασάμενος 'ὑπὲκ θανάτοιο' τῷ μὲν  
συνεμπίπτουσι πάθει τὸ ἔπος ὁμοίως ἐβασάνισεν, τῇ δὲ

2 ἀριμάσπεια P. 3 θαῦμ' \*μιν P θαῦμ' ἡμῖν P. 4 ναίουσιν (αι  
corr. in litura) P. 4 πελάγεσι P σ addidit m. rec. P. 7 ἥπου P, corr.  
Manutius. 9 παντὶ\* P. 10 ἡ δέος] Victorius, ἡδέωσ P. 16 δεδιό-  
τες P. 16 τυτθὸν P τ addidit m. rec. P. 23 ἀπολλυμένους P.

tempests, picks out the most appalling circumstances. 4. The author of the *Arimaspeia* thinks to inspire awe in the following way :—

A marvel exceeding great is this withal to my soul—  
Men dwell on the water afar from the land, where deep seas roll.  
Wretches are they, for they reap but a harvest of travail and  
    pain,  
Their eyes on the stars ever dwell, while their hearts abide in  
    the main.  
Often, I ween, to the Gods are their hands upraised on high,  
And with hearts in misery heavenward-lifted in prayer do they cry<sup>1</sup>.

It is clear, I imagine, to everybody that there is more elegance than terror in these words. 5. But what says Homer? Let one instance be quoted from among many :—

And he burst on them like as a wave swift-rushing beneath black  
    clouds,  
Heaved huge by the winds, bursts down on a ship, and the wild  
    foam shrouds  
From the stem to the stern her hull, and the storm-blast's terrible  
    breath  
Roars in the sail, and the heart of the shipmen shuddereth  
In fear, for that scanty upborne are they now from the clutches  
    of death<sup>2</sup>.

6. Aratus has attempted to convert this same expression to his own use :—

And a slender plank averteth their death<sup>3</sup>.

Only, he has made it trivial and neat instead of terrible. Furthermore, he has put bounds to the danger by saying *A plank keeps off death*. After all, it *does* keep it off. Homer, however, does not for one moment set a limit to the terror of the scene, but draws a vivid picture of men continually in peril of their lives, and often within an ace of perishing with each successive wave. Moreover, he has in the words *ὑπὲρ θανάτου*, forced into union, by a kind of unnatural compulsion, prepositions not usually compounded. He has thus tortured his

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Aristeas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xv. 624—628.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix C, *Aratus*.



τοῦ ἔπους συνθλίψει τὸ πάθος ἄκρως ἀπεπλάσατο καὶ  
μόνον οὐκ ἐνετύπωσε τῇ λέξει τοῦ κινδύνου τὸ ἰδίωμα  
'ὕπὲκ θανάτοιο φέρονται.' 7. οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ Ἀρχίλοχος  
ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυαγίου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ προσαγγελίᾳ ὁ Δημοσθένης·  
5 'ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν,' φησὶν· ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐξοχὰς ὥς ἂν  
εἴποι τις ἀριστίνδην ἐκκαθήραντες ἐπισυνέθηκαν, οὐδὲν  
φλοιῶδες ἢ ἄσεμνον ἢ σχολικὸν ἐγκατατάττοντες διὰ  
μέσου. λυμαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὅλον ὥσανεὶ ψύγματα  
ἢ ἀραιώματα ἐμποιοῦντα <ἐς> μεγέθη συννοικονομούμενα  
10 τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετειχισμένα.

## XI

Σύνεδρός ἐστι ταῖς προεκκειμέναις ἀρετῇ καὶ ἦν καλοῦ-  
σιν αὐξήσιν, ὅταν δεχομένων τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ἀγώνων  
κατὰ περιόδους ἀρχὰς τε πολλὰς καὶ ἀναπαύλας ἕτερα  
ἑτέροις ἐπεισκυκλούμενα μεγέθη συνεχῶς ἐπειςάγεται  
15 κατ' ἐπίβασιν. 2. τοῦτο δὲ εἴτε διὰ τοπηγορίαν, εἴτε  
δείνωσιν, ἢ πραγμάτων ἢ κατασκευῶν ἐπίρρωςιν, εἴτ'  
ἐποικονομίαν ἔργων ἢ παθῶν | (μυρίαί γὰρ ἰδέαι τῶν 185<sup>v</sup>  
αὐξήσεων) γίνωτο, χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅμως τὸν ῥήτορα,  
ὥς οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων καθ' αὐτὸ συσταίῃ χωρὶς ὕψους  
20 τέλειον, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐν οἴκτοις ἄρα, νῆ Δία, ἢ ἐν εὐτε-  
λισμοῖς, τῶν δ' ἄλλων αὐξητικῶν ὅτου περ ἂν τὸ ὑψηλὸν  
ἀφέλῃς, ὥς ψυχὴν ἐξαιρήσεις σώματος· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀτονεῖ  
καὶ κενοῦται τὸ ἔμπρακτον αὐτῶν μὴ τοῖς ὕψεσι συνεπι-  
ρωννύμενον. 3. ἡ μέντοι διαφέρει τοῦ ἀρτίως εἰρημένου  
25 τὰ νῦν παραγγελλόμενα (περιγραφὴ γὰρ τις ἦν ἐκεῖνο

2 μόνονοῦκ corr. in μονονοῦκ P. 3 φέρονται] Manutius, φέροντα P.  
5 ἦν P corr. P. ὥς ἂν] Ruhnkenius, ὥς P. 6 ἀριστ\*\*δην P ἀριστίνδην P.  
7 διαμέσου P. 9 αἰ P ἢ superscript m. rec. P. <ἐς> vide Append. A.  
10 συντετειχι\*|σμένα P. 15 \*\*τε διὰ P εἴτε διὰ P. 18 γίνωτο (post  
parenthesin) Morus: γίνωτο P. γινώ\*|σκειν P. 23 συνεπιρρωννύμενον P.  
24 διαφέρει P διαφέρει P.

line into the similitude of the impending calamity, and by the constriction of the verse has excellently figured the disaster, and almost stamped upon the expression the very form and pressure of the danger, ὑπὲρ θανάτοιο φέρονται. 7. This is true also of Archilochus in his account of the shipwreck, and of Demosthenes in the passage which begins 'It was evening,' where he describes the bringing of the news<sup>1</sup>. The salient points they selected, one might say, according to merit and massed them together, inserting in the midst nothing frivolous, mean, or trivial. For these faults mar the effect of the whole, just as though they introduced chinks or fissures into stately and co-ordered edifices, whose walls are compacted by their reciprocal adjustment.

## XI

An allied excellence to those already set forth is that which is termed *amplification*. This figure is employed when the narrative or the course of a forensic argument admits, from section to section, of many starting-points and many pauses, and elevated expressions follow, one after the other, in an unbroken succession and in an ascending order. 2. And this may be effected either by way of the rhetorical treatment of commonplaces, or by way of intensification (whether events or arguments are to be strongly presented), or by the orderly arrangement of facts or of passions; indeed, there are innumerable kinds of amplification. Only, the orator must in every case remember that none of these methods by itself, apart from sublimity, forms a complete whole, unless indeed where pity is to be excited or an opponent to be disparaged. In all other cases of amplification, if you take away the sublime, you will remove as it were the soul from the body. For the vigour of the amplification at once loses its intensity and its substance when not resting on a firm basis of the sublime. 3. Clearness, however, demands that we should define concisely how our present precepts differ from the

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *De Cor.*, 169.

τῶν ἄκρων λημμάτων καὶ εἰς ἐνότητα σύνταξις), καὶ τίνι καθόλου τῶν αὐξήσεων παραλλάττει τὰ ὕψη, τῆς σαφηνείας αὐτῆς ἔνεκα συντόμως διοριστέον.

## XII

‘Ο μὲν οὖν τῶν τεχνογράφων ὅρος ἔμοιγ’ οὐκ ἄρεστός.  
 5 αὐξήσις ἐστι, φασί, λόγος μέγεθος περιτιθείς τοῖς ὑπο-  
 κειμένοις· δύναται γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ ὕψους καὶ πάθους καὶ  
 τρόπων εἶναι κοινὸς οὗτος ὁ ὅρος, ἐπειδὴ κακεῖνα τῷ λόγῳ  
 περιτίθησι ποιὸν τι μέγεθος. ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται ταῦτα  
 ἀλλήλων παραλλάττειν, ἥ κεῖται τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐν διάρματι,  
 10 ἡ δ’ αὐξήσις καὶ ἐν πλήθει· διὸ κεῖνο μὲν κἂν νοήματι  
 ἐνὶ πολλάκις, ἡ δὲ πάντως μετὰ ποσότητος καὶ περιουσίας  
 τινὸς ὑφίσταται. 2. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ αὐξήσις, ὡς τύπῳ  
 περιλαβεῖν, συμπλήρωσις ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐμφερομένων  
 τοῖς πράγμασι μορίων καὶ τόπων, ἰσχυροποιούσα τῇ  
 15 ἐπιμονῇ τὸ κατεσκευασμένον, ταύτῃ τῆς πίστεως διεστῶσα,  
 ὅτι ἡ μὲν τὸ ζητούμενον ἀποδεί[κνυσιν . . .

DESUNT DVO FOLIA

. . . | πλουσιώτατα, καθάπερ τι πέλαγος, εἰς ἀναπεπτα- 186<sup>ε</sup>  
 μένον κέχυται πολλαχῇ μέγεθος. 3. ὅθεν, οἶμαι, κατὰ  
 λόγον ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ ἄτε παθητικώτερος πολὺ τὸ διάπυρον  
 20 ἔχει καὶ θυμικῶς ἐκφλεγόμενον, ὁ δὲ καθεστὼς ἐν ὄγκῳ  
 καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σεμνότητι, οὐκ ἔψυκται μὲν, ἀλλ’ οὐχ  
 οὕτως ἐπέστραπται. 4. οὐ κατ’ ἄλλα δέ τινα ἢ ταῦτα,  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φίλτατε Τερεντιανέ, (λέγω δέ, εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς  
 Ἑλλήσιν ἐφέϊται τι γινώσκειν) καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τοῦ Δημο-  
 25 σθένους ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὕψει  
 τὸ πλεόν ἀποτόμῳ, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐν χύσει, καὶ ὁ μὲν

2 παραλάττει P.

4 ὅρος αὐξήσεως in marg. P.

7 ὁ add. Manutius.

14 πράγμασι μορίων] Portus, πράγμασιν ὁρίων P.

16 ἀποδείκνυσιν] Manu-

tius, ἀποδεί P: desunt folia quartum et quintum quaternionis K<sup>5</sup>.

23 εἰ add.

Manutius.

25 τίνι παραλάττει Κικέρων Δημοσθένους in marg. P.

point under consideration a moment ago, namely the marking-out of the most striking conceptions and the unification of them; and wherein, generally, the sublime differs from amplification.

## XII

Now the definition given by the writers on rhetoric does not satisfy me. Amplification is, say they, discourse which invests the subject with grandeur<sup>1</sup>. This definition, however, would surely apply in equal measure to sublimity and passion and figurative language, since they too invest the discourse with a certain degree of grandeur. The point of distinction between them seems to me to be that sublimity consists in elevation, while amplification embraces a multitude of details. Consequently, sublimity is often comprised in a single thought, while amplification is universally associated with a certain magnitude and abundance. 2. Amplification (to sum the matter up in a general way) is an aggregation of all the constituent parts and topics of a subject, lending strength to the argument by dwelling upon it, and differing herein from proof that, while the latter demonstrates the matter under investigation.....

With his vast riches Plato swells, like some sea, into a greatness which expands on every side. 3. Wherefore it is, I suppose, that the orator<sup>2</sup> in his utterance shows, as one who appeals more to the passions, all the glow of a fiery spirit. Plato, on the other hand, firm-planted in his pride and magnificent stateliness, cannot indeed be accused of coldness, but he has not the same vehemence. 4. And it is in these same respects, my dear friend Terentianus, that it seems to me (supposing always that we Greeks are allowed to have an opinion upon the point) that Cicero differs from Demosthenes in elevated passages. For the latter is characterised by sublimity which is for the most part rugged, Cicero by

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Scr. Inc.* (4).

<sup>2</sup> Sc. Demosthenes.

ἡμέτερος διὰ τὸ μετὰ βίας ἕκαστα, ἔτι δὲ τάχους ῥώμης  
 δεινότητος οἶον καίειν τε ἅμα καὶ διαρπάζειν, σκηπτῶ τινι  
 παρειαίῳτ' ἂν ἢ κεραυνῶ, ὃ δὲ Κικέρων ὡς ἀμφιλαφής  
 τις ἐμπρησμός οἶμαι πάντη νέμεται καὶ ἀνελιείται, πολὺ  
 5 ἔχων καὶ ἐπίμονον αἰὲ τὸ καῖον, καὶ διακληρονομούμενον  
 ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοίως ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἀνατρεφόμενον.  
 5. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς ἂν ἄμεινον ἐπικρίνοιτε, καιρὸς  
 δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ μὲν ὕψους καὶ ὑπερτεταμένου ἐν τε  
 ταῖς δεινώσεσι καὶ τοῖς σφοδροῖς πάθεσι, καὶ ἔνθα δεῖ  
 10 τὸν ἀκροατὴν τὸ σύνολον ἐκπλήξαι, τῆς δὲ χύσεως, ὅπου  
 χρῆ καταντλήσαι· τοπηγορίαις τε γὰρ καὶ ἐπιλόγοις κατὰ  
 τὸ πλεόν καὶ παραβάσεσι καὶ τοῖς φραστικοῖς ἅπασι καὶ  
 ἐπιδεικτικοῖς, ἱστορίαις τε καὶ φυσιολογίαις, καὶ οὐκ  
 ὀλίγοις ἄλλοις μέρεσιν ἀρμόδιος.

## XIII

15 Ὅτι μέντοι ὁ Πλάτων (ἐπάνειμι γάρ) τοιούτῳ τινὶ  
 χεύματι ἀφοφητὶ ῥέων | οὐδὲν ἤττον μεγεθύνεται, ἀνεγνω- 186  
 κῶς τὰ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸν τύπον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς. 'οἱ ἄρα  
 φρονήσεως' φησὶ 'καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄπειροι εὐωχίαις δὲ καὶ  
 τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰὲ συνόντες κάτω ὡς ἔοικε φέρονται καὶ  
 20 ταύτῃ πλανῶνται διὰ βίου, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀληθές ἄνω οὐτ'  
 ἀνέβλεψαν πώποτε οὐτ' ἀνηνέχθησαν οὐδὲ βεβαίου τε καὶ  
 καθαρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἐγεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω  
 αἰὲ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας  
 βόσκονται χορταζόμενοι καὶ ὀχεύοντες, καὶ ἔνεκα τῆς  
 25 τούτων πλεονεξίας λακτίζοντες καὶ κυρίττοντες ἀλλήλους  
 σιδηροῖς κέρασι καὶ ὅπλαῖς ἀποκτινύνουσι δι' ἀπληστίαν.'

2. Ἐνδείκνυται δ' ἡμῖν οὗτος ἀνὴρ, εἰ βουλοίμεθα

4 ἐμπρησμός P ἐμπρισμός P.  
 μούμενον P.

8 δημοσθενικοῦ P.

5 διακληρονομούμενον P διακληρονο-

10 ἀκροατὴν (o corr. in ras.) P.

14 ἀρμόδιοσ P.

17 πολιτεία P.

25 ἀλλήλους] codices Platonis,

ἀλλήλοισ P.

27 ἀνὴρ P.

profusion. Our orator<sup>1</sup>, owing to the fact that in his vehemence,—aye, and in his speed, power and intensity,—he can as it were consume by fire and carry away all before him, may be compared to a thunderbolt or flash of lightning. Cicero, on the other hand, it seems to me, after the manner of a wide-spread conflagration, rolls on with all-devouring flames, having within him an ample and abiding store of fire, distributed now at this point now at that, and fed by an unceasing succession. 5. This, however, you<sup>2</sup> will be better able to decide; but the great opportunity of Demosthenes' high-pitched elevation comes where intense utterance and vehement passion are in question, and in passages in which the audience is to be utterly enthralled. The profusion of Cicero is in place where the hearer must be flooded with words, for it is appropriate to the treatment of commonplaces, and to perorations for the most part and digressions, and to all descriptive and declamatory passages, and to writings on history and natural science, and to many other departments of literature.

## XIII

To return from my digression. Although Plato thus flows on with noiseless stream, he is none the less elevated. You know this because you have read the *Republic* and are familiar with his manner. 'Those,' says he, 'who are destitute of wisdom and goodness and are ever present at carousals and the like are carried on the downward path, it seems, and wander thus throughout their life. They never look upwards to the truth, nor do they lift their heads, nor enjoy any pure and lasting pleasure, but like cattle they have their eyes ever cast downwards and bent upon the ground and upon their feeding-places, and they graze and grow fat and breed, and through their insatiate desire of these delights they kick and butt with horns and hoofs of iron and kill one another in their greed<sup>3</sup>.'

2. This writer shows us, if only we were willing to pay

<sup>1</sup> Sc. Demosthenes.

<sup>2</sup> Sc. 'you Romans.'

<sup>3</sup> Pl. *Rep.* ix. 586 A.

μὴ κατολιγωρεῖν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλη τις παρὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τείνει. ποία δὲ καὶ τίς αὕτη; ἡ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν μεγάλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν μίμησις τε καὶ ζήλωσις. καὶ γε τούτου, φίλτατε, ἀπρίξ ἐχώμεθα  
 5 τοῦ σκοποῦ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίῳ θεοφοροῦνται πνεύματι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὃν καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν λόγος ἔχει τρίποδι πλησιάζουσιν, ἔνθα ῥῆγμά ἐστι γῆς ἀναπνεῖν ὥς φασιν ἀτμὸν ἔνθεον, αὐτόθεν ἐγκύμονα τῆς δαιμονίου καθισταμένην δυνάμεως παραντίκα χρησμοδεῖν κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν.  
 10 οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μεγαλοφυΐας εἰς τὰς τῶν ζηλούντων ἐκείνους ψυχὰς ὡς ἀπὸ ἱερῶν στομίων ἀπόρροιαί τινες φέρονται, ὑφ' ὧν ἐπιπνεόμενοι καὶ οἱ μὴ· λίαν 187<sup>r</sup> φοιβαστικοὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ συνενθουσιῶσι μεγέθει. 3. μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Στησίχορος ἔτι πρό-  
 15 τερον ὃ τε Ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ κείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχετευσάμενος. καὶ ἴσως ἡμῖν ἀποδείξεων ἔδει, εἰ μὴ τὰ ἐπ' εἰδους καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἀμμώνιον ἐκλέξαντες ἀνέγραψαν. 4. ἔστι δ' οὐ κλοπῇ  
 20 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπὸ καλῶν εἰδῶν ἢ πλασμάτων ἢ δημιουργημάτων ἀποτύπωσις. καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπακμάσαι μοι δοκεῖ τηλικαῦτά τινα τοῖς τῆς φιλοσοφίας δόγμασι, καὶ εἰς ποιητικὰς ὕλας πολλαχοῦ συνεμβῆναι καὶ φράσεις  
 εἰ μὴ περὶ πρωτείων νῆ Δία παντὶ θυμῷ πρὸς Ὅμηρον,  
 25 ὡς ἀνταγωνιστῆς νέος πρὸς ἤδη τεθναμασμένον, ἴσως μὲν φιλονεικότερον καὶ οἰονεὶ διαδορατιζόμενος, οὐκ ἀνωφελῶς δ' ὅμως διηριστεύετο· 'ἀγαθὴ' γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον 'ἔρις ἦδε βροτοῖσι.' καὶ τῷ ὄντι καλὸς οὗτος καὶ ἀξιονι-  
 30 κώτατος εὐκλείας ἀγών τε καὶ στέφανος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἄδοξον.

2 ἡ] Manutius, om. P.

4 φίλ\*τατε P.

ἐχώμεθα P ἐχώμεθα P.

15 ὃ τε] Manutius, ὃ γε P.

16 αὐτὸν P, corr. Faber.

18 ἐπ' εἰδους]

Faber, ἐπ' ἰνδοῦσ P, item p. 154. 5 ἐπιδούσ.

20 εἰδῶν] Tollius, ἡθῶν P.

22 τοῖς om. P superscr. m. rec. P.

28 ἀξιονικό\*τατος P.

him heed, that another way (beyond anything we have mentioned) leads to the sublime. And what, and what manner of way, may that be? It is the imitation and emulation of previous great poets and writers. And let this, my dear friend, be an aim to which we steadfastly apply ourselves. For many men are carried away by the spirit of others as if inspired, just as it is related of the Pythian priestess when she approaches the tripod, where there is a rift in the ground which (they say) exhales divine vapour. By heavenly power thus communicated she is impregnated and straightway delivers oracles in virtue of the *afflatus*. Similarly from the great natures of the men of old there are borne in upon the souls of those who emulate them (as from sacred caves) what we may describe as *effluences*, so that even those who seem little likely to be possessed are thereby inspired and succumb to the spell of the others' greatness. 3. Was Herodotus alone a devoted imitator of Homer? No, Stesichorus even before his time, and Archilochus, and above all Plato, who from the great Homeric source drew to himself innumerable tributary streams. And perhaps we should have found it necessary to prove this, point by point, had not Ammonius and his followers selected and recorded the particulars. 4. This proceeding is not plagiarism; it is like taking an impression from beautiful forms or figures or other works of art. And it seems to me that there would not have been so fine a bloom of perfection on Plato's philosophical doctrines, and that he would not in many cases have found his way to poetical subject-matter and modes of expression, unless he had with all his heart and mind struggled with Homer for the primacy, entering the lists like a young champion matched against the man whom all admire, and showing perhaps too much love of contention and breaking a lance with him as it were, but deriving some profit from the contest none the less. For, as Hesiod says, 'This strife is good for mortals<sup>1</sup>.' And in truth that struggle for the crown of glory is noble and best deserves the victory in which even to be worsted by one's predecessors brings no discredit.

<sup>1</sup> Hes. *Op. et D.* 24.



## XIV

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἡνίκ' ἂν διαπονῶμεν ὑψηγορίας τι καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης δεόμενον, καλὸν ἀναπλάττεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, πῶς ἂν εἰ τύχοι ταῦτ' οὗτος Ὅμηρος εἶπεν, πῶς δ' ἂν Πλάτων ἢ Δημοσθένης ὑψωσαν ἢ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ Θουκυ-  
 5 δίδης. προσπίπτοντα γὰρ ἡμῖν κατὰ ζῆλον ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ οἶον | διαπρέποντα, τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνοίσει πῶς <sup>187<sup>v</sup></sup> πρὸς τὰ ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα μέτρα· 2. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῇ διανοίᾳ προσυπογράφοιμεν, πῶς ἂν τόδε τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγόμενον παρὼν Ὅμηρος ἤκουσεν ἢ Δημοσθένης,  
 10 ἢ πῶς ἂν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διετέθησαν· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μέγα τὸ ἀγώνισμα, τοιοῦτον ὑποτίθεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων λόγων δικαστήριον καὶ θέατρον, καὶ ἐν τηλικούτοις ἥρωσι κριταῖς τε καὶ μάρτυσιν ὑπέχειν τῶν γραφομένων εὐθύνας πεπαῖχθαι.  
 3. πλεον δὲ τούτων παρορμητικόν, εἰ προστιθείης, πῶς  
 15 ἂν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα γράψαντος ὁ μετ' ἐμὲ πᾶς ἀκούσειεν αἰῶν· εἰ δέ τις αὐτόθεν φοβοῖτο, μὴ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου καὶ χρόνου φθέγγαιτό τι ὑπερήμερον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου ψυχῆς ἀτελῆ καὶ τυφλὰ ὥσπερ ἀμβλοῦσθαι, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑστεροφημίας ὅλως μὴ τελεσφορούμενα  
 20 χρόνον.

## XV

Ὅγκον καὶ μεγαληγορίας καὶ ἀγῶνος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὧ νεανία, καὶ αἱ φαντασίαι παρασκευαστικώταται· οὕτω γοῦν εἰδωλοποιῖας αὐτὰς ἔνιοι λέγουσι· καλεῖται μὲν γὰρ κοινῶς φαντασία πᾶν τὸ ὁπωσοῦν ἐννόημα γεννητικὸν  
 25 λόγου παριστάμενον· ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ τούτων κεκράτηκε τοῦ νομα, ὅταν ἂ λέγεις ὑπ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ πάθους βλέπειν

5 προσπίπτοντα] Manutius, προπίπτοντα P.

13 πεπ\*\*χθαι P πεπαῖχθαι P. Vide Append. A. Spengelius.

10 τοῦτο P τούτω P.

26 λέγησ P, corr.

## XIV

Accordingly it is well that we ourselves also, when elaborating anything which requires lofty expression and elevated conception, should shape some idea in our minds as to how perchance Homer would have said this very thing, or how it would have been raised to the sublime by Plato or Demosthenes or by the historian Thucydides. For those personages, presenting themselves to us and inflaming our ardour and as it were illumining our path, will carry our minds in a mysterious way to the high standards of sublimity which are imaged within us. 2. Still more effectual will it be to suggest this question to our thoughts, 'What sort of hearing would Homer, had he been present, or Demosthenes have given to this or that when said by me, or how would they have been affected by the other?' For the ordeal is indeed a severe one, if we presuppose such a tribunal and theatre for our own utterances, and imagine that we are undergoing a scrutiny of our writings before these great heroes, acting as judges and witnesses. 3. A greater incentive still will be supplied if you add the question, 'In what spirit will each succeeding age listen to me who have written thus?' But if one shrinks from the very thought of uttering aught that may transcend the term of his own life and time, the conceptions of his mind must necessarily be incomplete, blind, and as it were untimely born, since they are by no means brought to the perfection needed to ensure a futurity of fame.

## XV

Images, moreover, contribute greatly, my young friend, to dignity, elevation, and power as a pleader. In this sense some call them mental representations. In a general way the name of *image* or *imagination* is applied to every idea of the mind, in whatever form it presents itself, which gives birth to speech. But at the present day the word is predominantly used in cases where, carried away by enthusiasm and passion,

δοκῆς καὶ ὑπ' ὄψιν τιθῆς τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. 2. ὥς δ' ἕτερόν τι ἢ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία βούλεται καὶ ἕτερον ἢ παρὰ ποιηταῖς, οὐκ ἂν λάθοι σε, οὐδ' ὅτι τῆς | μὲν ἐν<sup>188\*</sup> ποιήσει τέλος ἐστὶν ἐκπληξίς, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια. 5 ἀμφοτέραι δ' ὅμως τό τε < παθητικὸν > ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ τὸ συγκεκινημένον.

ὦ μήτηρ ἱκετεύω σε, μὴ ἴσιέ μοι  
τὰς αἵματωπούς καὶ δρακοντώδεις κόρας·  
αὗται γάρ, αὗται πλησίον θρώσκουσί μου.

10 καὶ

οἴμοι, κτανεῖ με· ποῖ φύγω;

ἐνταῦθ' ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτὸς εἶδεν Ἑρινύας· ὁ δὲ ἐφαντάσθη, μικροῦ δεῖν θεάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡνάγκασεν. 3. ἔστι μὲν οὖν φιλοπονώτατος ὁ Εὐριπίδης δύο ταυτὶ 15 πάθη, μανίας τε καὶ ἔρωτας, ἐκτραγωδῆσαι, καὶ τούτοις ὥς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τισιν ἐτέροις ἐπιτυχέστατος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιτίθεσθαι φαντασίαις οὐκ ἄτολμος. ἡκιστὰ γέ τοι μεγαλοφυῆς ὢν ὅμως τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν πολλοῖς γενέσθαι τραγικὴν προσηνάγκασεν, 20 καὶ παρ' ἕκαστα ἐπὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν, ὥς ὁ ποιητὴς,

οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχίον ἀμφοτέρωθεν  
μαστίεται, ἐξ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι.

4. τῷ γοῦν Φαέθοντι παραδιδούς τὰς ἡνίας ὁ Ἥλιος,

ἔλα δὲ μήτε Λιβυκὸν αἰθέρ' εἰσβαλὼν·  
25 κρᾶσιν γὰρ ὑγρὰν οὐκ ἔχων, ἀψίδα σὴν  
κάτω διήσει,

φησὶν, εἰθ' ἐξῆς,

2 ἢ παρὰ P. 3 λάθοι\* P. ἐμποιήσει\* P. 5 τό τε] P, παθη-  
τικὸν add. Kayserus. 12 ὁ P, corr. Manutius. 16 ἐτέ\*|ροισ P.  
22 ἐξ] codd. Homeri, ἐ P. μαχέσασθαι] codd. Homeri, μάχεσθαι P.  
25 ἀψίδας ἦν P, corr. Faber. 26 διεισι P, corr. Faber.

you think you see what you describe, and you place it before the eyes of your hearers. 2. Further, you will be aware of the fact that an image has one purpose with the orators and another with the poets, and that the design of the poetical image is enthrallment, of the rhetorical—vivid description. Both, however, seek to stir the passions and the emotions.

Mother!—'beseech thee, hark not thou on me  
Yon maidens gory-eyed and snaky-haired!  
Lo there!—lo there!—they are nigh—they leap on me<sup>1</sup>!

And:

Ah! she will slay me! whither can I fly<sup>2</sup>?

In these scenes the poet himself saw Furies, and the image in his mind he almost compelled his audience also to behold.

3. Now, Euripides is most assiduous in giving the utmost tragic effect to these two emotions—fits of love and madness. Herein he succeeds more, perhaps, than in any other respect, although he is daring enough to invade all the other regions of the imagination. Notwithstanding that he is by nature anything but elevated, he forces his own genius, in many passages, to tragic heights, and everywhere in the matter of sublimity it is true of him (to adopt Homer's words) that

The tail of him scourgeth his ribs and his flanks to left and to right,  
And he lasheth himself into frenzy, and spurreth him on to the fight<sup>3</sup>.

4. When the Sun hands the reins to Phaethon, he says

'Thou, driving, trespass not on Libya's sky,  
Whose heat, by dews urtempered, else shall split  
Thy car asunder.'

And after that,

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Orest.* 255.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. *Iph. in T.* 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* xx. 170, 1.

ἴει δ' ἐφ' ἑπτὰ Πλειάδων ἔχων δρόμον.  
 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας εἴτ' ἔμαρψεν ἡνίας·  
 κρούσας δὲ πλευρὰ πτεροφόρων ὀχημάτων  
 μεθήκεν, αἱ δ' ἑπταντ' ἐπ' αἰθέρος πτύχας.  
 5 πατήρ δ' ὀπισθε νῶτα Σειρίου βεβῶς  
 ἵππευε παῖδα νουθετῶν· ἐκεῖσ' ἔλα,  
 τῇδε στρέφ' ἄρμα, τῇδε.

ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ γράφοντος συνεπιβαίνει 1887  
 τοῦ ἄρματος, καὶ συγκινδυνεύουσα τοῖς ἵπποις συνεπτέ-  
 15 ρωται; οὐ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ μὴ τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἐκείνοις ἔργοις  
 ἰσοδρομοῦσα ἐφέρετο, τοιαῦτ' ἂν ποτε ἐφαντάσθη. ὅμοια  
 καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Κασσάνδρας αὐτῷ,

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλιπποι Τρῶες.

5. τοῦ δ' Αἰσχύλου φαντασίαις ἐπιτολμῶντος ἡρωϊκῶ-  
 15 τάταις, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας παρ' αὐτῷ,

ἄνδρες (φησὶν) ἑπτὰ θούριοι λοχαγέται,  
 ταυροσφαγοῦντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος,  
 καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,  
 Ἄρη τ' Ἐννὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον  
 20 ὀρκωμότησαν,

τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δίχα οἴκτου συνομνύμενοι  
 θάνατον, ἐνίοτε μέντοι ἀκατεργάστους καὶ οἰονεὶ ποκοειδέις  
 τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ ἀμαλάκτους φέροντος, ὅμως ἑαυτὸν ὁ  
 Εὐριπίδης καὶ ἐκείνοις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας τοῖς κινδύνοις προσ-  
 25 βιβάζει. 6. καὶ παρὰ μὲν Αἰσχύλῳ παραδόξως τὰ τοῦ  
 Λυκούργου βασιλεία κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Διονύσου

2 \* τοσαῦτ' (τ posterius a m. rec.) P—ex τόσαῦτ' | videlicet. εἴτ' Manutius,  
 τις P, παῖς Grotio auctore Vahlenus. 4 ἑπταντο P. 5 ὀπισθεν ὦτα P,  
 corr. Manutius. 6, 7 ἐκεῖσ' ἔλα, τῇδε στρέφ' Portus, ἐκεῖσε ἐλατῆρα ἐστρεφ' P.  
 9 σ\*\*\*κινδυνεύουσα P συγκινδυνεύουσα P. 15 οἱ Morus, om. P. 18 θιγγάνοντες  
 χερσὶ Robortellus, θιγγάνοντις χερσὶ P. 21 αὐτῶν P. 22 ποκοειδέσ in  
 marg. P. 23 ἀμαλάκτους φέροντος Manutius, ἀναλάκτους φέροντας P.  
 24 φιλ\*\*\*|μίας P φιλοτι|μίας P. 25 αἰ\*|σχύλω P.

‘Speed onward toward the Pleiads seven thy course.’  
 Thus far the boy heard; then he snatched the reins:  
 He lashed the flanks of that wing-wafted team;  
 Loosed rein; and they through folds of cloudland soared.  
 Hard after on a fiery star his sire  
 Rode, counselling his son—‘Ho! thither drive!  
 Hither thy car turn—hither<sup>1</sup>!’

Would you not say that the soul of the writer enters the chariot at the same moment as Phaethon and shares in his dangers and in the rapid flight of his steeds? For it could never have conceived such a picture had it not been borne in no less swift career on that journey through the heavens. The same is true of the words which Euripides attributes to his Cassandra:—

O chariot-loving Trojans<sup>2</sup>.

5. Aeschylus, too, ventures on images of a most heroic stamp. An example will be found in his *Seven against Thebes*, where he says

For seven heroes, squadron-captains fierce,  
 Over a black-rimmed shield have slain a bull,  
 And, dipping in the bull’s blood each his hand,  
 By Ares and Enyo, and by Panic  
 Lover of blood, have sworn<sup>3</sup>.

In mutual fealty they devoted themselves by that joint oath to a relentless doom. Sometimes, however, he introduces ideas that are rough-hewn and uncouth and harsh; and Euripides, when stirred by the spirit of emulation, comes perilously near the same fault, even in spite of his own natural bent. 6. Thus in Aeschylus the palace of Lycurgus

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Euripides*.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Euripides*.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. *S. c. Th.* 42.

θεοφορεῖται,

ἐνθουσιᾷ δὴ δῶμα, βακχεύει στέγη·

ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ἐτέρως ἐφηδύνας ἐξεφώνησε,

πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχεν ὄρος.

- 5 7. ἄκρως δὲ καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ θνήσκοντος Οἰδίπου καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ διοσημείας τινὸς θάπτοντος πεφάντασται, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τὰχιλλέως προφαινομένου τοῖς ἀναγομένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάφου, ἣν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ὅψιν ἐναργέστερον εἰδωλοποίησε Σιμωνίδου·  
 15 πάντα δ' ἀμήχανον παρατίθεσθαι. 8. οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς μυθικωτέ|ραν ἔχει τὴν ὑπερέκπτω- 189<sup>ε</sup> σιν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πάντῃ τὸ πιστὸν ὑπεραίρουσαν, τῆς δὲ ῥητορικῆς φαντασίας κάλλιστον αἰεὶ τὸ ἔμπρακτον καὶ ἐνάληθες. δειναὶ δὲ καὶ ἔκφυλοι αἱ παραβάσεις, ἥνικ' 15 ἂν ᾗ ποιητικὸν τοῦ λόγου καὶ μυθῶδες τὸ πλάσμα καὶ εἰς πᾶν προσεκπίπτει τὸ ἀδύνατον, ὡς ἤδη νῆ Δία καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς δεινοὶ ῥήτορες, καθάπερ οἱ τραγωδοί, βλέπουσιν Ἐρινύας, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο μαθεῖν οἱ γενναῖοι δύνανται, ὅτι ὁ λέγων Ὀρέστης

- 20 μέθες, μί' οὔσα τῶν ἐμῶν Ἐρινύων  
 μέσον μ' ὀχμάζεις, ὡς βάλης ἐς τάρταρον,

φαντάζεται ταῦθ' ὅτι μαίνεται. 9. τί οὖν ἡ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία δύναται; πολλὰ μὲν ἴσως καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς λόγοις ἐναγώνια καὶ ἐμπαθῇ προσεισφέρειν, κατακιρναμένη 25 μέντοι ταῖς πραγματικαῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσιν οὐ πείθει τὸν ἀκροατὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δουλοῦται. 'καὶ μὲν εἴ τις,' φησὶν 'αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα κραυγῆς ἀκούσειε πρὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων, εἴτ' εἴποι τις, ὡς ἀνέγκται τὸ δεσμωτήριον, οἱ

1 θεοφ\*ρεῖται P θεοφορεῖται P. 4 συνεβάκχεν'] Porsonus, συνεβάκχευεν P, συνεβάκχενσ' codd. Euripidis. 5 θνήσκοντος P. οἰδ\*\*που P οἰδίπου P.  
 7 ἔπειτ' ἀχιλλέως P, corr. Manutius. 16 ἀδύνατον] Manutius, δυνατὸν P.  
 21 τάρτ|\*ον P τάρτα|ρον P. 28 εἴτ' P.

at the coming of Dionysus is strangely represented as *possessed*:—

A frenzy thrills the hall; the roofs are bacchant  
With ecstasy<sup>1</sup>:

an idea which Euripides has echoed, in other words, it is true, and with some abatement of its crudity, where he says:—

The whole mount shared their bacchic ecstasy<sup>2</sup>.

7. Magnificent are the images which Sophocles has conceived of the death of Oedipus, who makes ready his burial amid the portents of the sky<sup>3</sup>. Magnificent, too, is the passage where the Greeks are on the point of sailing away and Achilles appears above his tomb to those who are putting out to sea—a scene which I doubt whether anyone has depicted more vividly than Simonides<sup>4</sup>. But it is impossible to cite all the examples that present themselves. 8. It is no doubt true that those which are found in the poets contain, as I said, a tendency to exaggeration in the way of the fabulous and that they transcend in every way the credible, but in oratorical imagery the best feature is always its reality and truth. Whenever the form of a speech is poetical and fabulous and breaks into every kind of impossibility, such digressions have a strange and alien air. For example, the clever orators forsooth of our day, like the tragedians, see Furies, and—fine fellows that they are—cannot even understand that Orestes when he cries

Unhand me!—of mine Haunting Fiends thou art—  
Dost grip my waist to hurl me into hell<sup>5</sup>!

has these fancies because he is mad. 9. What, then, can oratorical imagery effect? Well, it is able in many ways to infuse vehemence and passion into spoken words, while more particularly when it is combined with the argumentative passages it not only persuades the hearer but actually makes him its slave. Here is an example. ‘Why, if at this very moment,’ says Demosthenes, ‘a loud cry were to be heard in front of the courts, and we were told that the prison-house

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Aeschylus*.

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. *Bacchae*, 726.

<sup>3</sup> Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1586.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix C, *Simonides*.

<sup>5</sup> Eurip. *Orest.* 264.



δὲ δεσμῶται φεύγουσιν, οὐθεὶς οὕτως οὔτε γέρων οὔτε νέος ὀλίγωρός ἐστιν, ὃς οὐχὶ βοηθήσει, καθ' ὅσον δύναται· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις εἴποι παρελθών, ὥς ὁ τούτους ἀφείς οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ λόγου τυχὼν παραντίκ' ἂν ἀπόλοιτο.' 10. ὡς 5 νῆ Δία καὶ ὁ Ὑπερίδης κατηγορούμενος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δούλους μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν ἐλευθέρους ἐψηφίσατο, τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα, εἶπεν, οὐχ ὁ ῥήτωρ ἔγραψεν ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ πραγματικῷ ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁ ῥήτωρ πεφάντασται, διὸ καὶ τὸν τοῦ πείθειν ὄρον ὑπερ|βέβηκε 189<sup>ο</sup> 10 τῷ λήμματι. 11. φύσει δέ πως ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἀκούομεν, ὅθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποδεικτικοῦ περιελκόμεθα εἰς τὸ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἐκπληκτικόν, ᾧ τὸ πραγματικὸν ἐγκρύπτεται περιλαμπόμενον. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἀπεικότως πάσχομεν· δυεῖν γὰρ συνταττομένων ὑφ' 15 ἐν αἰεὶ τὸ κρείττον εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν θατέρου δύναμιν περισπᾷ. 12. Τοσαῦτα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς νοήσεις ὑψηλῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μεγαλοφροσύνης μίμησης ἢ φαντασίας ἀπογεννωμένων ἀρκέσει.

## XVI

Αὐτόθι μέντοι καὶ ὁ περὶ σχημάτων ἐφεξῆς τέτακται 20 τόπος· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ', ἂν ὃν δεῖ σκευάζεται τὸν τρόπον, ὥς ἔφην, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τυχοῦσα μεγέθους εἴη μερίς. οὐ μὲν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὸ πάντα διακριβοῦν πολύεργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπεριόριστον, ὀλίγα τῶν ὅσα μεγαληγορίας ἀποτελεστικά τοῦ πιστώσασθαι τὸ προκείμενον ἔνεκα 25 καὶ δὴ διέξιμεν. 2. ἀπόδειξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων εἰσφέρει· τίς δ' ἦν ἡ κατὰ φύσιν χρήσις αὐτῆς; 'οὐχ ἡμάρτετε, ᾧ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι· ἔχετε δὲ οἰκεία τούτου

7 χ\*\*ρωνεία P χαιρωνεία P.

Vahlenus.

9 ὑπερ|βέβηκε\* P.

8 πραγματικῶι P, πραγματικῶς Morus

19 περὶ σχημάτων in marg. P.

22 πολυεργόν P.

25 διέξ\*μεν P διέξιμεν P.

27 ᾧ] P Spengelius,

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι addit Manutio auctore Vahlenus.

lies open and the prisoners are in full flight, no one, whether he be old or young, is so heedless as not to lend aid to the utmost of his power; aye, and if any one came forward and said that yonder stands the man who let them go, the offender would be promptly put to death without a hearing<sup>1</sup>. 10. In the same way, too, Hyperides on being accused, after he had proposed the liberation of the slaves subsequently to the great defeat, said 'This proposal was framed, not by the orator, but by the battle of Chaeroneia<sup>2</sup>.' The speaker has here at one and the same time followed a train of reasoning and indulged a flight of imagination. He has, therefore, passed the bounds of mere persuasion by the boldness of his conception. 11. By a sort of natural law in all such matters we always attend to whatever possesses superior force; whence it is that we are drawn away from demonstration pure and simple to any startling image within whose dazzling brilliancy the argument lies concealed. And it is not unreasonable that we should be affected in this way, for when two things are brought together, the more powerful always attracts to itself the virtue of the weaker. 12. It will be enough to have said thus much with regard to examples of the sublime in thought, when produced by greatness of soul, imitation, or imagery.

## XVI

Here, however, in due order comes the place assigned to Figures; for they, if handled in the proper manner, will contribute, as I have said, in no mean degree to sublimity. But since to treat thoroughly of them all at the present moment would be a great, or rather an endless task, we will now, with the object of proving our proposition, run over a few only of those which produce elevation of diction. 2. Demosthenes is bringing forward a reasoned vindication of his public policy. What was the natural way of treating the subject? It was this. 'You were not wrong, you who engaged in the struggle for the freedom of Greece. You have

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *c. Timocr.* 208.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Hyperides*.

παραδείγματα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἡμαρτον οὐδ' οἱ  
 ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐδ' οἱ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ  
 ἐμπνευσθεὶς ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ οἶονεὶ φοιβόληπτος  
 γενόμενος, τὸν τῶν ἀριστέων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅρκον ἐξεφώ-  
 5 νησεν 'οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι  
 προκινδυνεύσαντας,' φαίνεται δι' ἐλνὸς τοῦ ὁμοτικοῦ σχή- 190<sup>5</sup>  
 ματος, ὅπερ ἐνθάδε ἀποστροφὴν ἐγὼ καλῶ, τοὺς μὲν  
 προγόνους ἀποθεώσας, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς οὕτως ἀποθανόντας  
 ὡς θεοὺς ὁμνῦναι παριστάνων, τοῖς δὲ κρίνουσι τὸ τῶν  
 15 ἐκεῖ προκινδυνεύσαντων ἐντιθεὶς φρόνημα, τὴν δὲ τῆς  
 ἀποδείξεως φύσιν μεθεστακῶς εἰς ὑπερβάλλον ὕψος καὶ  
 πάθος καὶ ξένων καὶ ὑπερφυῶν ὀρκῶν ἀξιοπιστίαν, καὶ  
 ἅμα παιώνειόν τινα καὶ ἀλεξιφάρμακον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς  
 τῶν ἀκούοντων καθιερὸς λόγον, ὡς κονφιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν  
 25 ἐγκωμίων μῆδὲν ἔλαττον τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἢ  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ Μαραθῶνα καὶ Σαλαμῖνα νικητηρίοις παρί-  
 στασθαι φρονεῖν· οἷς πᾶσι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς διὰ τοῦ σχημα-  
 τισμοῦ συναρπάσας ᾤχετο. 3. καίτοι παρὰ τῷ Εὐπόλιδι  
 τοῦ ὀρκου τὸ σπέρμα φασὶν εὐρῆσθαι·

20 οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην,  
 χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμὸν ἀλγυνεὶ κέαρ.

ἔστι δ' οὐ τὸ ὁπωσοῦν τινὰ ὁμῶσαι μέγα, τὸ δὲ ποῦ καὶ  
 πῶς καὶ ἐφ' ᾧν καιρῶν καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν  
 οὐδέν ἐστ' εἰ μὴ ὅρκος, καὶ πρὸς εὐτυχοῦντας ἔτι καὶ οὐ  
 25 δεομένους παρηγορίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἔτι δ' οὐχὶ τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας ἀπαθανατίσας ὁ ποιητὴς ᾤμοσεν, ἵνα τῆς ἐκείνων  
 ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ἐντέκη λόγον ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν  
 προκινδυνεύσαντων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄψυχον ἀπεπλανήθη, τὴν μάχην.  
 παρὰ δὲ τῷ Δημοσθένει πεπραγμάτευται πρὸς ἡττημέ-  
 30 νους ὁ ὅρκος, ὡς μὴ Χαιρώνειαν ἔτ' Ἀθηναίους ἀτύχημα

5 ἡμάρτετε] codd. Demosthenis, ἡμαρτε P.

24 ἐστ'] Manutius, ἔτ' P.

7 ἀποστροφή in marg. P.

26 ἀποθανάτισας P ἀπαθανάτισας P.

domestic warrant for it. For the warriors of Marathon did no wrong, nor they of Salamis, nor they of Plataea<sup>1</sup>. When, however, as though suddenly inspired by heaven and as it were frenzied by the God of Prophecy, he utters his famous oath by the champions of Greece ('assuredly ye did no wrong; I swear it by those who at Marathon stood in the forefront of the danger'), in the public view by this one Figure of Adjuration, which I here term *Apostrophe*, he deifies his ancestors. He brings home the thought that we ought to swear by those who have thus nobly died as we swear by Gods, and he fills the mind of the judges with the high spirit of those who there bore the brunt of the danger; and he has transformed the natural course of the argument into transcendent sublimity and passion and that secure belief which rests upon strange and prodigious oaths. He instils into the minds of his hearers the conviction—which acts as a medicine and an antidote—that they should, uplifted by these eulogies, feel no less proud of the fight against Philip than of the triumph at Marathon and Salamis. By all these means he carries his hearers clean away with him through the employment of a single figure.

3. It is said, indeed, that the germ of the oath is found in Eupolis:—

For, by the fight I won at Marathon,  
No one shall vex my soul and rue it not<sup>2</sup>.

But it is not sublime to swear by a person in any chance way; the sublimity depends upon the place and the manner and the circumstances and the motive. Now in the passage of Eupolis there is nothing but the mere oath, addressed to the Athenians when still prosperous and in no need of comfort. Furthermore, the poet in his oath has not made divinities of the men in order so to create in his hearers a worthy conception of their valour, but he has wandered away from those who stood in the forefront of the danger to an inanimate thing—the fight. In Demosthenes the oath is framed for vanquished men, with the intention that Chaeroneia should no longer appear a failure to the Athenians. He gives them at

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dem. *de Cor.* 208.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Eupolis*.

φαίνεσθαι, καὶ | ταῦτόν, ὡς ἔφην, ἅμα ἀπόδειξις ἐστὶ τοῦ <sup>190</sup>  
 μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκέναι παράδειγμα ὅρκων πίστις ἐγκώμιον  
 προτροπή. 4. καπειδήπερ ὑπήντα τῷ ῥήτορι· ‘λέγεις  
 ἦτταν πολιτευσάμενός, εἴτα νίκας ὀμνύεις,’ διὰ ταῦθ’ ἐξῆς  
 5 κανονίζει καὶ δι’ ἀσφαλείας ἄγει καὶ ὀνόματα, διδάσκων  
 ὅτι κὰν βακχεύμασι νήφειν ἀναγκαῖον· ‘τοὺς προκιν-  
 δυνεύσαντας’ φησὶ ‘Μαραθῶνι καὶ τοὺς Σαλαμῖνι καὶ  
 ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχῆσαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς  
 παραταξαμένους.’ οὐδαμοῦ ‘νικήσαντας’ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ  
 10 πάντη τὸ τοῦ τέλους διακέκλοφεν ὄνομα, ἐπειδήπερ ἦν  
 εὐτυχὲς καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Χαιρώνειαν ὑπεναντίον. διόπερ  
 καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν φθάνων εὐθύς ὑποφέρει· ‘οὓς ἅπαντας  
 ἔθαιψε δημοσίᾳ’ φησὶν ‘ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς  
 κατορθώσαντας μόνους.’

## XVII

15 Οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ τόπου παραλιπεῖν ἐν τι τῶν  
 ἡμῶν τεθεωρημένων, φίλτατε, ἔσται δὲ πάνν σύντομον,  
 ὅτι φύσει πως συμμαχεῖ τε τῷ ὕψει τὰ σχήματα καὶ  
 πάλιν ἀντισυμμαχεῖται θαυμαστῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. πῇ δὲ καὶ  
 πῶς, ἐγὼ φράσω. ὑποπτὸν ἐστὶν ἰδίως τὸ διὰ σχημάτων  
 20 πανουργεῖν καὶ προσβάλλον ὑπόνοιαν ἐνέδρας ἐπιβουλῆς  
 παραλογισμοῦ. καὶ ταῦθ’ ὅταν ᾗ πρὸς κριτὴν κύριον ὁ  
 λόγος, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τυράννους βασιλέας ἡγεμόνας  
 ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς· ἀγανακτεῖ γὰρ εὐθύς, εἰ ὡς παῖς ἄφρων  
 ὑπὸ τεχνίτου ῥήτορος σχηματίοις κατασοφίζεται, καὶ εἰς  
 25 καταφρόνησιν ἑαυτοῦ λαμβάνων τὸν παραλογισμόν ἐνίοτε <sup>191</sup>  
 μὲν ἀποθηριοῦται τὸ ὅνολον, κὰν ἐπικρατήσῃ δὲ τοῦ  
 θυμοῦ, πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τῶν λόγων πάντως ἀντιδιατίθεται.  
 διόπερ καὶ τότε ἄριστον δοκεῖ τὸ σχῆμα, ὅταν αὐτὸ τοῦτο  
 διαλανθάνῃ ὅτι σχῆμά ἐστιν. 2. τὸ τοίνυν ὕψος καὶ

3 λέγεις] Robortellus, λέγεις λέγεις P. 17 συμμαχεῖ τε] Schurzfleischius,  
 συμμαχεῖται (poster. a in ras.) P. 24 σχηματίων in marg. P. 28 ὅταν—  
 σχῆμα om. P, addidit in marg. eadem manus.

one and the same time, as I remarked, a demonstration that they have done no wrong, an example, the sure evidence of oaths, a eulogy, an exhortation. 4. And since the orator was likely to be confronted with the objection, 'You are speaking of the *defeat* which has attended your administration, and yet you swear by *victories*,' in what follows he consequently measures even individual words, and chooses them unerringly, showing that even in the revels of the imagination sobriety is required. 'Those,' he says, 'who stood in the forefront of the danger at Marathon, and those who fought by sea at Salamis and Artemisium, and those who stood in the ranks at Plataea.' Nowhere does he use the word 'conquered,' but at every turn he has evaded any indication of the result, since it was fortunate and the opposite of what happened at Chaeroneia. So he at once rushes forward and carries his hearer off his feet. 'All of whom,' says he, 'were accorded a public burial by the state, Aeschines, and not *the successful only*.'

## XVII

I ought not, my dear friend, to omit at this point an observation of my own, which shall be most concisely stated. It is that, by a sort of natural law, figures bring support to the sublime, and on their part derive support in turn from it in a wonderful degree. Where and how, I will explain. The cunning use of figures is peculiarly subject to suspicion, and produces an impression of ambush, plot, fallacy. This is so when the plea is addressed to a judge with absolute powers, and particularly to despots, kings, and leaders in positions of superiority. Such an one at once feels resentment if, like a foolish boy, he is tricked by the paltry figures of the oratorical craftsman. Construing the fallacy into a personal affront, sometimes he becomes quite wild with rage, or if he controls his anger, steels himself utterly against persuasive words. Wherefore a figure is at its best when the very fact that it is a figure escapes attention. 2. Accordingly, sublimity and passion

πάθος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σχηματίζειν ὑπονοίας ἀλέξημα καὶ  
 θαυμαστή τις ἐπικουρία καθίσταται, καὶ πως παραληφ-  
 θείσα ἢ τοῦ πανουργεῖν τέχνη τοῖς κάλλεσι καὶ μεγέθεσι  
 τὸ λοιπὸν δέδυκε καὶ πᾶσαν ὑποψίαν ἐκπέφενγεν. ἱκανὸν  
 5 δὲ τεκμήριον τὸ προειρημένον ‘μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι.’  
 τίνι γὰρ ἐνταῦθ’ ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀπέκρυψε τὸ σχῆμα; δῆλον ὅτι  
 τῷ φῶτι αὐτῷ. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ μυδρὰ φέγγη  
 ἐναφανίζεται τῷ ἡλίῳ περιαιγούμενα, οὕτω τὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς  
 σοφίσματα ἑξαμαυροῖ περιχυθὲν πάντοθεν τὸ μέγεθος.  
 10 3. οὐ πόρρω δ’ ἴσως τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ζωγραφίας τι συμ-  
 βαίνει· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κειμένων ἐπιπέδου παραλλήλων  
 ἐν χρώμασι τῆς σκιᾶς τε καὶ τοῦ φωτός, ὅμως προὔπαντᾳ  
 τε τὸ φῶς ταῖς ὄψεσι καὶ οὐ μόνον ἕξοχον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἐγγυτέρω παρὰ πολὺ φαίνεται. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν λόγων  
 15 τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ ὕψη ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω κείμενα  
 διὰ τε φυσικὴν τινα συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ λαμπρότητα, αἰεὶ  
 τῶν σχημάτων προεμφανίζεται καὶ τὴν τέχνην αὐτῶν  
 ἀποσκιάζει καὶ οἶον ἐν κατακαλύψει τηρεῖ.

## XVIII

Τί δ’ ἐκεῖνα φῶμεν, τὰς πεύσεις τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις; ἄρα  
 20 οὐκ αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν σχημάτων | εἰδοποιῖταις παρὰ πολὺ 191<sup>v</sup>  
 ἐμπρακτότερα καὶ σοβαρώτερα συντείνει τὰ λεγόμενα;  
 ‘ἢ βούλεσθε εἰπέ μοι περιϋόντες ἀλλήλων πυνθάνεσθαι·  
 λέγεται τι καινόν; τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτου καινότερον  
 ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ καταπολεμῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα; τέθνηκε  
 25 Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί’ ἀλλ’ ἀσθενεῖ. τί δ’ ὑμῖν διαφέρει;  
 καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθη, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον  
 ποιήσετε.’ καὶ πάλιν ‘πλέωμεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν’ φησί.  
 ‘ποῖ δὴ προσορμιούμεθα, ἥρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ  
 τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος.’ ἦν δὲ ἀπλῶς

2 παραληφθεῖσα ἢ] Tollius, παραληφθεῖσαν P.

8 πανγῶ in marg. P.

13 καὶ οὐ μόνον] Victorius, καίόμενον P.

form an antidote and a wonderful help against the mistrust which attends upon the use of figures. The art which craftily employs them lies hid and escapes all future suspicion, when once it has been associated with beauty and sublimity. A sufficient proof is the passage already adduced, 'By the men of Marathon I swear.' By what means has the orator here concealed the figure? Clearly, by the very excess of light. For just as all dim lights are extinguished in the blaze of the sun, so do the artifices of rhetoric fade from view when bathed in the pervading splendour of sublimity.

3. Something like this happens also in the art of painting. For although light and shade, as depicted in colours, lie side by side upon the same surface, light nevertheless meets the vision first, and not only stands out, but also seems far nearer. So also with the manifestations of passion and the sublime in literature. They lie nearer to our minds through a sort of natural kinship and through their own radiance, and always strike our attention before the figures, whose art they throw into the shade and as it were keep in concealment.

## XVIII

But what are we next to say of questions and interrogations? Is it not precisely by the visualizing qualities of these figures that Demosthenes strives to make his speeches far more effective and impressive? 'Pray tell me,—tell me, you sir,—do you wish to go about and inquire of one another, Is there any news? Why, what greater news could there be than this, that a Macedonian is subduing Greece? Is Philip dead? No; but he is ill. Dead or ill, what difference to you? Should anything happen to him, you will speedily create another Philip<sup>1</sup>.' Again he says, 'Let us sail against Macedonia. Where shall we find a landing-place? someone asks. The war itself will discover the weak places in Philip's position<sup>2</sup>.' All this, if stated plainly

<sup>1</sup> Dem. *Philipp.* I. 10.<sup>2</sup> Dem. *Philipp.* I. 44.



ῥῆθ' ἐν τῷ πρᾶγμα τῷ παντὶ καταδεέστερον, νυνὶ δὲ τὸ  
 ἐνθουν καὶ ὀξύρροπον τῆς πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως καὶ  
 τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀνθυπαντᾶν οὐ μόνον  
 ὑψηλότερον ἐποίησε τῷ σχηματισμῷ τὸ ῥῆθ' ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 5 πιστότερον. 2. ἄγει γὰρ τὰ παθητικὰ τότε μᾶλλον,  
 ὅταν αὐτὰ φαίνηται μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτὸς ὁ λέγων ἀλλὰ  
 γεννᾶν ὁ καιρὸς, ἢ δ' ἐρώτησις ἢ εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπόκρισις  
 μιμνῆται τοῦ πάθους τὸ ἐπίκαιρον. σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς οἱ ὑφ'  
 ἐτέρων ἐρωτώμενοι παροξυνθέντες ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα πρὸς  
 10 τὸ λεχθὲν ἐναγωνίως καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνθυ-  
 παντῶσιν, οὕτως τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως  
 εἰς τὸ δοκεῖν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐσκεμμένων ἐξ ὑπογύου κεκινή-  
 σθαί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἀπάγον καὶ παρα-  
 λογίζεται. ἔτι τοίνυν (ἐν γάρ τι τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων τὸ  
 15 Ἡροδότειον πεπίστευται) εἰ οὕτως ἔ| . . . .

DESUNT DVO FOLIA

## XIX

. . . . |πλοκα ἐκπίπτει καὶ οἶονεὶ προχεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα, 192<sup>ε</sup>  
 ὀλίγου δεῖν φθάνοντα καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λέγοντα. 'καὶ συμ-  
 βαλόντες' φησὶν ὁ Ξενοφῶν 'τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο  
 ἐμάχοντο ἀπέκτεινον ἀπέθνησκον.' 2. καὶ τὰ τοῦ Εὐρυ-  
 20 λόχου,

ἤλθομεν ὡς ἐκέλευες, ἀνὰ δρυμά, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ.  
 εἶδομεν ἐν βήσσησι τετυγμένα δώματα καλά.

τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων διακεκομμένα καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν κατεσπεν-  
 σμένα φέρει τῆς ἀγωνίας ἔμφασιν ἅμα καὶ ἐμποδιζούσης

8 ὡς οἱ] Faber, ὅσον P, ὅσοι Petra. 9 παροξυνθέντες] Morus, παροξύν-  
 νοντες P. 13 ἀπά\*ον P ἀπάγον P. 15 desunt folia quartum  
 et quintum quaternionis KZ. 16 ἀπλοκα Manutius. 29 ἀπέθνησκον P.  
 22 \*ἴδομεν P εὕρομεν in marg. P εὕρομεν codd. Homeri. βήσσησιν P.

and directly, would have been altogether weaker. As it is, the excitement, and the rapid play of question and answer, and the plan of meeting his own objections as though they were urged by another, have by the help of the figure made the language used not only more elevated but also more convincing. 2. For an exhibition of passion has a greater effect when it seems not to be studied by the speaker himself but to be inspired by the occasion; and questions asked and answered by oneself simulate a natural outburst of passion. For just as those who are interrogated by others experience a sudden excitement and answer the inquiry incisively and with the utmost candour, so the figure of question and answer leads the hearer to suppose that each deliberate thought is struck out and uttered on the spur of the moment, and thus beguiles his reason. We may further quote that passage of Herodotus which is regarded as one of the most elevated: 'if thus.....'

## XIX

The words issue forth without connecting links and are poured out as it were, almost outstripping the speaker himself. 'Locking their shields,' says Xenophon, 'they thrust fought slew fell<sup>1</sup>.' 2. And so with the words of Eurylochus:—

We passed, as thou badst, Odysseus, midst twilight of oak-trees  
round.

There amidst of the forest-glens a beautiful palace we found<sup>2</sup>.

For the lines detached from one another, but none the less hurried along, produce the impression of an agitation which interposes obstacles and at the same time adds impetuosity.

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Hellen.* IV. 3, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Odys.* X. 251, 2.

τι καὶ συνδιωκούσης. τοιαῦθ' ὁ ποιητῆς ἐξήνεγκε διὰ τῶν ἀσυνδέτων.

## XX

\*Ακρως δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ σύνοδος τῶν σχημάτων εἴωθε κινεῖν, ὅταν δύο ἢ τρία οἶον κατὰ συμμορίαν 5 ἀνακιρνάμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐρανίζῃ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν πειθῶ τὸ κάλλος, ὅποια καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Μειδίαν, ταῖς ἀναφοραῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῇ διατυπώσει συναναπεπλεγμένα τὰ ἀσύνδετα. 'πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ποιήσειεν ὁ τύπτων, ὦν ὁ παθὼν ἔνια οὐδ' ἂν ἀπαγγεῖλαι δύναίτο ἐτέρῳ, τῷ σχήματι τῷ βλέμματι 10 τῇ φωνῇ.' 2. εἴθ' ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος ἰὼν στῇ (ἐν στάσει γὰρ τὸ ἡρεμοῦν, ἐν ἀταξίᾳ δὲ τὸ πάθος, ἐπεὶ φορὰ ψυχῆς καὶ συγκίνησις ἐστίν), εὐθὺς ἐπ' ἄλλα μεθῆλατο ἀσύνδετα καὶ ἐπαναφοράς. 'τῷ σχήματι τῷ βλέμματι τῇ φωνῇ, ὅταν ὡς ὑβρίζων, ὅταν ὡς ἐχθρός, ὅταν 15 κονδύλοις, ὅταν ὡς δοῦλον.' οὐδὲν ἄλλο διὰ τούτων ὁ ῥήτωρ ἢ ὅπερ ὁ τύπτων ἐργάζεται, τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν δικαστῶν τῇ ἐπαλλήλῳ πλήττει φορᾷ. 3. εἴτ' ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ὡς αἱ καταιγίδες, ἄλλην ποιούμενος ἐμβολὴν 'ὅταν κονδύλοις, | ὅταν ἐπὶ κόρρης' φησί. 'ταῦτα κινεῖ, ταῦτα 192' 20 ἐξίστησιν ἀνθρώπους, ἀήθεις ὄντας τοῦ προπηλακίζεσθαι. οὐδεὶς ἂν ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλων δύναίτο τὸ δεινὸν παραστήσαι.' οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν φύσιν τῶν ἐπαναφορῶν καὶ ἀσυνδέτων πάντῃ φυλάττει τῇ συνεχεῖ μεταβολῇ. οὕτως αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ τάξις ἄτακτον καὶ ἑμπαλιν ἢ ἀταξία ποῖαν 25 περιλαμβάνει τάξιν.

## XXI

Φέρε οὖν, πρόσθε τοὺς συνδέσμους, εἰ θέλοις, ὡς ποιοῦσιν οἱ Ἰσοκράτειοι. 'καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρὴ παραλιπεῖν,

1 συνδιωκούσης] Faber, συνδιοικούσης P. 4 συμμορίαν] Manutius, συμμορία P. 5 ἐρανίζε\*\* P ἐρανίζει P. 15 ὅταν ὡς δοῦλον] P, ὅταν ἐπὶ κόρρης libri Demosthenis, quos sequuntur Manutius et Spengelius deleto ὡς δοῦλον. sed auctor verba suo more libere laudat. 21 ἂν om. P, add. libri deteriores. 26 συνδ. in marg. P.

This result Homer has produced by the omission of conjunctions.

## XX

A powerful effect usually attends the union of figures for a common object, when two or three mingle together as it were in partnership, and contribute a fund of strength, persuasiveness, beauty. Thus, in the speech against Meidias, examples will be found of *asyndeton*<sup>1</sup>, interwoven with instances of *anaphora*<sup>2</sup> and *diatyposis*<sup>3</sup>. 'For the smiter can do many things (some of which the sufferer cannot even describe to another) by attitude, by look, by voice<sup>4</sup>.' 2. Then, in order that the narrative may not, as it advances, continue in the same groove (for continuance betokens tranquillity, while passion—the transport and commotion of the soul—sets order at defiance), straightway he hurries off to other *Asyndeta* and *Repetitions*. 'By attitude, by look, by voice, when he acts with insolence, when he acts like an enemy, when he smites with his fists, when he smites you like a slave.' By these words the orator produces the same effect as the assailant—he strikes the mind of the judges by the swift succession of blow on blow. 3. Starting from this point again, as suddenly as a gust of wind, he makes another attack. 'When smitten with blows of fists,' he says, 'when smitten upon the cheek. These things stir the blood, these drive men beyond themselves, when unused to insult. No one can, in describing them, convey a notion of the indignity they imply.' So he maintains throughout, though with continual variation, the essential character of the *Repetitions* and *Asyndeta*. In this way, with him, order is disorderly, and on the other hand disorder contains a certain element of order.

## XXI

Come now, add, if you please, in these cases connecting particles after the fashion of the followers of Isocrates. Furthermore, this fact too must not be overlooked that the

<sup>1</sup> Broken sentences.

<sup>3</sup> Vivid description.

<sup>2</sup> Repetition of words.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. in Mid. 72.

ὥς πολλὰ ἂν ποιήσειεν ὁ τύπτων, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ σχή-  
 ματι, εἴτα δὲ τῷ βλέμματι, εἴτα γε μὴν αὐτῇ τῇ φωνῇ,  
 καὶ εἴσῃ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως παραγράφων, ὥς τοῦ πάθους  
 τὸ συνδεδιωγμένον καὶ ἀποτραχυνόμενον, ἔαν τοῖς συν-  
 5 δέσμοις ἐξομαλίσῃς εἰς λειότητα, ἄκεντρόν τε προσπίπτει  
 καὶ εὐθὺς ἔσβησται. 2. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις συνδῆσαι  
 τῶν θεόντων τὰ σώματα τὴν φορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται,  
 οὕτως καὶ τὸ πάθος ὑπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 προσθηκῶν ἐμποδιζόμενον ἀγανακτεῖ· τὴν γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν  
 10 ἀπολλύει τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τὸ ὥς ἀπ' ὀργάνου τινὸς ἀφίεσθαι.

## XXII

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ιδέας καὶ τὰ ὑπερβατὰ θετέον. ἔστι δὲ  
 λέξεων ἢ νοήσεων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν κεινημένην  
 τάξις καὶ οἷον εἰ χαρακτηριστὴρ ἐναγωνίου πάθους ἀληθέστατος.  
 ὥς γὰρ οἱ τῷ ὄντι ὀργιζόμενοι ἢ φοβούμενοι ἢ ἀγανακ-  
 15 τούντες ἢ ὑπὸ ζήλοτυπίας ἢ ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινὸς (πολλὰ  
 γὰρ καὶ ἀναρίθμητα πάθη καὶ οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὅποσα  
 δύναται), ἐκάστοτε παραπίπτουντες ἄλλα προθέμενοι πολ- 193<sup>r</sup>  
 λάκις ἐπ' ἄλλα μεταπηδῶσι, μέσα τινὰ παρεμβαλόντες  
 ἀλόγως, εἴτ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἀνακυκλοῦντες καὶ πάντη  
 20 πρὸς τῆς ἀγωνίας, ὥς ὑπ' ἀστάτου πνεύματος, τῇδε κακείσε  
 ἀγχιστρόφως ἀντισπώμενοι τὰς λέξεις τὰς νοήσεις τὴν  
 ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν εἵρμου παντοίως πρὸς μυρίας τροπὰς  
 ἐναλλάττουσι τάξιν· οὕτω παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις συγγρα-  
 φεῦσι διὰ τῶν ὑπερβατῶν ἢ μίμησις ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς φύσεως  
 25 ἔργα φέρεται. τότε γὰρ ἡ τέχνη τέλειος, ἡνίκ' ἂν φύσις  
 εἶναι δοκῇ, ἢ δ' αὖ φύσις ἐπιτυχής, ὅταν λανθάνουσιν  
 περιέχῃ τὴν τέχνην· ὥσπερ λέγει ὁ Φωκαεὺς Διονύσιος  
 παρὰ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ· 'ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν

10 ἀπολλύει] Finckhius Vahlenus, ἀπολλύει P. 11 περὶ ὑπερβατῶν ὅρος  
 ὑπερβατοῦ in marg. P. 18 μέσα P. 19 ἀλόγως P. πάντη P.

smiter may do many things, first by attitude, then by look, then again by the mere voice.' You will feel, if you transcribe the passage in this orderly fashion, that the rugged impetuosity of passion, once you make it smooth and equable by adding the copulatives, falls pointless and immediately loses all its fire. 2. Just as the binding of the limbs of runners deprives them of their power of rapid motion, so also passion, when shackled by connecting links and other appendages, chafes at the restriction, for it loses the freedom of its advance and its rapid emission as though from an engine of war.

## XXII

*Hyperbata*, or *inversions*, must be placed under the same category. They are departures in the order of expressions or ideas from the natural sequence; and they bear, it may be said, the very stamp and impress of vehement emotion. Just as those who are really moved by anger, or fear, or indignation, or jealousy, or any other emotion (for the passions are many and countless, and none can give their number), at times turn aside, and when they have taken one thing as their subject often leap to another, foisting in the midst some irrelevant matter, and then again wheel round to their original theme, and driven by their vehemence, as by a veering wind, now this way now that with rapid changes, transform their expressions, their thoughts, the order suggested by a natural sequence, into numberless variations of every kind; so also among the best writers it is by means of *hyperbaton* that imitation approaches the effects of nature. For art is perfect when it seems to be nature, and nature hits the mark when she contains art hidden within her. We may illustrate by the words of Dionysius of Phocaea in Herodotus. 'Our fortunes lie on a razor's edge, men of Ionia; for freedom or

τὰ πράγματα, ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, εἶναι ἐλευθέροις ἢ δούλοις,  
καὶ τούτοις ὡς δραπέτησιν. νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς ἦν μὲν βούλησθε  
ταλαιπωρίας ἐνδέχεσθαι, παραχρήμα μὲν πόνος ὑμῖν, οἰοί  
τε δὲ ἔσεσθε ὑπερβαλέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.<sup>2</sup> 2. ἐνταῦθ'  
5 ἦν τὸ κατὰ τάξιν· ὧ ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, νῦν καιρός ἐστιν ὑμῖν  
πόνους ἐπιδέχεσθαι· ἐπὶ ξυροῦ γὰρ ἀκμῆς ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ  
πράγματα.<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄνδρες Ἰωνες ὑπερεβίβασεν·  
προεισέβαλεν οὖν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου, ὡς μὴδ' ἀρχὴν  
φθάνων πρὸς τὸ ἐφεστῶς δέος προσαγορεύσαι τοὺς ἀκού-  
10 οντας· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν τῶν νοημάτων ἀπέστρεψε τάξιν.  
πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ φῆσαι ὅτι αὐτοὺς δεῖ πονεῖν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστιν  
ὃ παρακελεύεται), ἔμπροσθεν ἀποδίδωσι τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν  
πονεῖν δεῖ, ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς φήσας ἔχεται ἡμῖν τὰ 193'  
πράγματα· ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν ἐσκεμμένα λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἡναγκα-  
15 σμένα. 3. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης καὶ τὰ φύσει  
πάντως ἡνωμένα καὶ ἀδιανεμήτα ὁμῶς ταῖς ὑπερβάσεσιν  
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἄγειν δεινότατος. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης οὐχ  
οὕτως μὲν αὐθάδης ὥσπερ οὗτος, πάντων δ' ἐν τῷ γένει  
τούτῳ κατακορέστατος, καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀγωνιστικὸν ἐκ τοῦ  
20 ὑπερβιβάζειν καὶ ἔτι νῆ Δία τὸ ἐξ ὑπογούου λέγειν συνεμ-  
φαίνων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν μακρῶν  
ὑπερβατῶν τοὺς ἀκούοντας συνεπισπώμενος· 4. πολλάκις  
γὰρ τὸν νοῦν, ὃν ὥρμησεν εἰπεῖν, ἀνακρεμάσας καὶ μεταξὺ  
ὡς εἰς ἀλλόφυλον καὶ ἀπεοικυῖαν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις διὰ  
25 μέσου καὶ ἔξωθεν ποθεν ἐπείσχυκλῶν, εἰς φόβον ἐμβαλὼν  
τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὡς ἐπὶ παντελεῖ τοῦ λόγου διαπτώσει, καὶ  
συναποκινδυνεύειν ὑπ' ἀγωνίας τῷ λέγοντι συναναγκάσας,  
εἶτα παραλόγως διὰ μακροῦ τὸ πάλαι ζητούμενον εὐκαίρως  
ἐπὶ τέλει πού προσαποδούς, αὐτῷ τῷ κατὰ τὰς ὑπερβάσεις

2 δραπέτησιν νῦν· ὧν P. ἡμεῖς P. 3 ταλαιπωρία P, corr. Manutius.  
8 προεισέβαλεν P. ἂν superscripto οὖν P, οὐχ ἂν Robortellus, γὰρ Manutius.  
ἀρχὴ P, corr. Robortellus. 27 ὑπογωνία P, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας in margine praebebat  
eadem manus.

for bondage, and that the bondage of runaway slaves. Now, therefore, if you choose to submit to hardships, you will have toil for the moment, but you will be able to overcome your foes<sup>1</sup>. 2. Here the natural order would have been : 'Men of Ionia, now is the time for you to meet hardships ; for our fortunes lie on a razor's edge.' But the speaker postpones the words 'Men of Ionia.' He starts at once with the danger of the situation, as though in such imminent peril he had no time at all to address his hearers. Moreover, he inverts the order of ideas. For instead of saying that they ought to endure hardships, which is the real object of his exhortation, he first assigns the reason because of which they ought to endure hardships, in the words 'our fortunes lie on a razor's edge.' The result is that what he says seems not to be premeditated but to be prompted by the necessities of the moment. 3. In a still higher degree Thucydides is most bold and skilful in disjoining from one another by means of transpositions things that are by nature intimately united and indivisible. Demosthenes is not so masterful as Thucydides, but of all writers he most abounds in this kind of figure, and through his use of hyperbata makes a great impression of vehemence, yes and of unpremeditated speech, and moreover draws his hearers with him into all the perils of his long inversions. 4. For he will often leave in suspense the thought which he has begun to express, and meanwhile he will heap, into a position seemingly alien and unnatural, one thing upon another parenthetically and from any external source whatsoever, throwing his hearer into alarm lest the whole structure of his words should fall to pieces, and compelling him in anxious sympathy to share the peril of the speaker ; and then unexpectedly, after a long interval, he adds the long-awaited conclusion at the right place, namely the end, and produces a far greater effect by this very use, so

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VI. 11.



παραβόλῃ καὶ ἀκροσφαλεῖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττει. φειδῶ  
δὲ τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἔστω διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

## XXIII

Τὰ γε μὴν πολύπτωτα λεγόμενα, ἀθροισμοὶ καὶ μετα-  
βολαὶ καὶ κλίμακες, πάνυ ἀγωνιστικά, ὡς οἶσθα, κόσμον  
5 τε καὶ παντὸς ὕψους καὶ πάθους συνεργά. τί δέ; αἱ τῶν  
πτώσεων χρόνων προσώπων ἀριθμῶν γενῶν ἐναλλάξεις  
πῶς ποτε καταποικίλλουσι καὶ ἐπεγείρουσι τὰ ἐρμηνευ-  
τικά; 2. φημὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς οὐ μόνον ταῦτα 194<sup>τ</sup>  
κοσμεῖν, ὅποσα τοῖς τύποις ἐνικὰ ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει κατὰ  
10 τὴν ἀναθεώρησιν πληθυντικὰ εὐρίσκεται.

αὐτίκα, φησί, λαὸς ἀπείρων  
θύνων ἐπ' ἡϊόνεσσι διῆστώμενοι κελάδησαν.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον παρατηρήσεως ἄξια, ὅτι ἔσθ' ὅπου  
προσπίπτει τὰ πληθυντικὰ μεγαλορρημονέστερα καὶ αὐτῷ  
15 δοξοκοποῦντα τῷ ὅχλῳ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. 3. τοιαῦτα παρὰ  
τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Οἰδίου.

ὦ γάμοι, γάμοι,  
ἐφύσαθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ φυτεύσαντες πάλιν  
ἀνεῖτε ταὐτὸ σπέρμα κάπεδείξατε  
20 πατέρας ἀδελφοὺς παῖδας, αἶμ' ἐμφύλιον,  
νύμφας, γυναῖκας, μητέρας τε χῶπόσα  
αἰσχιστ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔργα γίγνεται.

πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν ὀνομάῳ ἐστίν, Οἰδίπους, ἐπὶ δὲ θατέρου  
Ἰοκάστη, ἀλλ' ὅμως χυθεὶς εἰς τὰ πληθυντικὰ ὁ ἀριθμὸς  
25 συνεπλήθυσεν καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνα πεπλεόνασται

ἐξῆλθον Ἑκτορὲς τε καὶ Σαρπηδόνες.

1 φειδῶ P. 3 πολύπτωτα κλίμακες ἀθροισμοὶ μεταβολαὶ in marg. P.  
12 θύνων] Vahlenus, θύνων P. ἡϊόνεσι P. 14 μεγαλορρημονέστερα P.  
15 δοξοκοπῶ in marg. P. 22 αἰσχιστ' P. γίγνεται P.

bold and hazardous, of hyperbaton. Examples may be spared because of their abundance.

## XXIII

The figures which are termed *polyptota*—accumulations, and variations, and climaxes—are excellent weapons of public oratory, as you are aware, and contribute to elegance and to every form of sublimity and passion. Again, how greatly do changes of cases, tenses, persons, numbers, genders, diversify and enliven exposition. 2. Where the use of numbers is concerned, I would point out that style is not adorned only or chiefly by those words which are, as far as their forms go, in the singular but in meaning are, when examined, found to be plural: as in the lines

A countless crowd forthright  
Far-ranged along the beaches were clamouring 'Thunny in sight'<sup>1</sup>

The fact is more worthy of observation that in certain cases the use of the plural (for the singular) falls on the ear with still more imposing effect and impresses us by the very sense of multitude which the number conveys. 3. Such are the words of Oedipus in Sophocles:

O nuptials, nuptials,  
Ye gendered me, and, having gendered, brought  
To light the selfsame seed, and so revealed  
Sires, brothers, sons, in one—all kindred blood!—  
Brides, mothers, wives, in one!—yea, whatso deeds  
Most shameful among humankind are done<sup>2</sup>.

The whole enumeration can be summed up in a single proper name—on the one side Oedipus, on the other Jocasta. None the less, the expansion of the number into the plural helps to pluralise the misfortunes as well. There is a similar instance of multiplication in the line:—

Forth Hector and Sarpedons marching came<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Scr. Inc.* (8).

<sup>2</sup> Soph. *Oed. T.* 1403.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix C, *Scr. Inc.* (5).

καὶ τὸ Πλατωνικόν, ὃ καὶ ἐτέρωθι παρετεθείμεθα, ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· 4. ‘οὐ γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κάδμοι οὐδ’ Αἴγυπτοί τε καὶ Δαναοὶ οὐδ’ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φύσει βάρβαροι συννοικοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνες, οὐ μιξοβάρβαροι οἰκοῦμεν.’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. φύσει γὰρ ἑξακούεται τὰ πράγματα κομπωδέστερα ἀγεληδὸν οὕτως τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπισυντιθεμένων. οὐ μέντοι δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτὸ ἐπ’ ἄλλων, εἰ μὴ ἐφ’ ὧν δέχεται τὰ ὑποκείμενα αὔξῃσιν ἢ πληθύν ἢ ὑπερβολὴν ἢ πάθος, ἐν τι τούτων ἢ τὰ πλείονα, ἐπεὶ τοι  
10 τὸ πανταχού κώδωνας ἐξῆφθαι λίαν σοφιστικόν. 194<sup>v</sup>

## XXIV

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τούναντίον τὰ ἐκ τῶν πληθυντικῶν εἰς τὰ ἐνικά ἐπισυναγόμενα ἐνίοτε ὑψηλοφανέστατα. ‘ἔπειθ’ ἢ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διεισπτήκει’ φησί. ‘καὶ δὴ Φρυγίῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλῳσιν διδάξαντι εἰς δάκρυα  
15 ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον.’ τὸ ἐκ τῶν διηρημένων εἰς τὰ ἡνωμένα ἐπισυστρέψαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν σωματοειδέστερον. 2. αἴτιον δ’ ἐπ’ ἀμφοῖν τοῦ κόσμου ταῦτόν οἶμαι· ὅπου τε γὰρ ἐνικά ὑπάρχει τὰ ὀνόματα, τὸ πολλὰ ποιεῖν αὐτὰ παρὰ δόξαν ἐμπαθοῦς· ὅπου τε πληθυντικά, τὸ εἰς ἐν τι εὐηχον συγ-  
20 κορυφοῦν τὰ πλείονα διὰ τὴν εἰς τούναντίον μεταμόρφωσιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τῷ παραλόγῳ.

## XXV,

Ὅταν γε μὴν τὰ παρεληλυθότα τοῖς χρόνοις εἰσάγῃς ὥς γινόμενα καὶ παρόντα, οὐ διήγησιν ἔτι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ’

3 αἴγυπτοί P. 8 ὑποκείμενα] Petra, ὑπερκείμενα P. αὔξῃσιν] El. Robortellus, αὔχῃσιν P. Vide Append. A. 12 ἔπειθ’ ἢ codd. Demosthenis, Manutius: ἐπειδὴ P. 15 ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον] codd. Herodoti Tollius Iahnus Spengelius Hammerus: ἔπεσον οἱ θεώμενοι P Vahlenus qui lacunam indicat et supplendum censet δάκρυα < ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον ἀντὶ τοῦ > ἔπεσον οἱ θεώμενοι. 18 τὸ] Robortellus, τὰ P. 19 ἐμπαθοῦς] Faber, εὐπαθοῦς P. ὅπου τε] Manutius, ὅπουτε ὁπότῃ P.

and in that passage of Plato concerning the Athenians which we have quoted elsewhere. 4. 'For no Pelopes, nor Cadmi, nor Aegypti and Danaï, nor the rest of the crowd of born foreigners dwell with us, but ours is the land of pure Greeks, free from foreign admixture,' etc.<sup>1</sup> For naturally a theme seems more imposing to the ear when proper names are thus added, one upon the other, in troops. But this must only be done in cases in which the subject admits of amplification or redundancy or exaggeration or passion—one or more of these—since we all know that a richly caparisoned style is extremely pretentious.

## XXIV

Further (to take the converse case) particulars which are combined from the plural into the singular are sometimes most elevated in appearance. 'Thereafter,' says Demosthenes, 'all Peloponnesus was at variance<sup>2</sup>.' 'And when Phrynichus had brought out a play entitled the *Capture of Miletus*, the whole theatre burst into tears<sup>3</sup>.' For the compression of the number from multiplicity into unity gives more fully the feeling of a single body. 2. In both cases the explanation of the elegance of expression is, I think, the same. Where the words are singular, to make them plural is the mark of unlooked-for passion; and where they are plural, the rounding of a number of things into a fine-sounding singular is surprising owing to the converse change.

## XXV

If you introduce things which are past as present and now taking place, you will make your story no longer a narration

<sup>1</sup> Plat. *Menex.* 245 D.    <sup>2</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* 18.    <sup>3</sup> Herod. VI. 21.

ἐναγώνιον πρᾶγμα ποιήσεις. 'πεπτωκὼς δέ τις' φησὶν  
ὁ Ξενοφῶν 'ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παίει  
τῇ μαχαίρᾳ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸν ἵππον· ὁ δὲ σφαδάζων  
ἀποσείεται τὸν Κῦρον, ὁ δὲ πίπτει.' τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς  
5 πλείστοις ὁ Θουκυδίδης.

## XXVI

Ἐναγώνιος δ' ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ τῶν προσώπων ἀντιμετά-  
θεσις καὶ πολλάκις ἐν μέσοις τοῖς κινδύνοις ποιούσα τὸν  
ἀκροατὴν δοκεῖν στρέφεσθαι.

10 φαίης κ' ἀκμήτας καὶ ἀτειρέας  
ἄντεσθ' ἐν πολέμῳ· ὥς ἐσσυμένως ἐμάχοντο.

καὶ ὁ Ἄρατος

μὴ κείνῳ ἐνὶ μηνὶ περικλύζοιο θαλάσση.

2. ὧδέ που καὶ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος· 'ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλεφαντίνης  
πόλεως ἄνω πλεύσεται, καὶ | ἔπειτα ἀφίξῃ ἐς πεδῖον λεῖον· 195<sup>5</sup>  
15 διεξελθὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἀνθὺς εἰς ἕτερον πλοῖον  
ἐμβὰς πλεύσεται δὴ ἡμέρας, ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην,  
ἣ ὄνομα Μερόη.' ὁρᾷς, ὦ ἐταῖρε, ὥς παραλαβὼν σου τὴν  
ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν τόπων ἄγει τὴν ἀκοὴν ὄψιν ποιῶν; πάντα  
δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὰ ἀπεριειδόμενα τὰ πρόσωπα ἐπ'  
20 αὐτῶν ἵστησι τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῶν ἐνεργουμένων. 3. καὶ  
ὅταν ὥς οὐ πρὸς ἅπαντας, ἀλλ' ὥς πρὸς μόνον τινὰ λαλήσ,

Τυδεΐδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης, ποτέροισι μετείη,

ἐμπαθέστερόν τε αὐτὸν ἅμα καὶ προσεκτικώτερον καὶ  
ἀγώνος ἔμπλεων ἀποτελέσεις, ταῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν προσφω-  
25 νήσεσιν ἐξεγειρόμενον.

3 τὸ\*ν P. 16 πλεύσε\*αι P. 18 ὄψιν ποιῶν; πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς  
om. P, addidit in marg. eadem manus. 25 ἐξεγειρόμενος P, corr. Faber.

but an actuality. Xenophon furnishes an illustration. 'A man,' says he, 'has fallen under Cyrus' horse, and being trampled strikes the horse with his sword in the belly. He rears and unseats Cyrus, who falls<sup>1</sup>.' This construction is specially characteristic of Thucydides.

## XXVI

In like manner the interchange of persons produces a vivid impression, and often makes the hearer feel that he is moving in the midst of perils :—

Thou hadst said that with toil unspent, and all unwasted of limb,  
They closed in the grapple of war, so fiercely they rushed to the  
fray<sup>2</sup>;

and the line of Aratus :—

Never in that month launch thou forth amid lashing seas<sup>3</sup>.

2: So also Herodotus: 'From the city of Elephantine thou shalt sail upwards, and then shalt come to a level plain; and after crossing this tract, thou shalt embark upon another vessel and sail for two days, and then shalt thou come to a great city whose name is Meroe<sup>4</sup>.' Do you observe, my friend, how he leads you in imagination through the region and makes you *see* what you hear? All such cases of direct personal address place the hearer on the very scene of action.

3. So it is when you seem to be speaking, not to all and sundry, but to a single individual :—

But Tydeides—thou wouldst not have known him, for whom that hero fought<sup>5</sup>.

You will make your hearer more excited and more attentive, and full of active participation, if you keep him on the alert by words addressed to himself.

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. i. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xv. 697, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix C, *Aratus*.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. ii. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* v. 85.

## XXVII

\*Ἐτι γε μὴν ἔσθ' ὅτε περὶ προσώπου διηγούμενος ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐξαίφνης παρενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον ἀντιμεθίσταται, καὶ ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐκβολή τις πάθους.

5 Ἐκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας,  
νηυσὶν ἐπισσεύεσθαι, ἔαν δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα.  
ὄν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω,  
αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι.

οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν διήγησιν ἄτε πρέπουσαν ὁ ποιητὴς προσ-  
10 ἦψεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δ' ἀπότομον ἀπειλὴν τῷ θυμῷ τοῦ  
ἡγεμόνος ἐξαπίνης οὐδὲν προδηλώσας περιέθηκεν· ἐψύχετο  
γάρ, εἰ παρενετίθει· ἔλεγε δὲ τοιά τινα καὶ τοῖα ὁ Ἐκτωρ·  
νυνὶ δ' ἔφθακεν ἄφνω τὸν μεταβαίνοντα ἢ τοῦ λόγου  
μετάβασις. 2. διὸ καὶ ἡ πρόχρησις τοῦ σχήματος τότε,  
15 ἡνίκα ὁξὺς ὁ καιρὸς ὦν διαμέλλειν τῷ γράφοντι μὴ διδῶ,  
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς | ἐπαναγκάζῃ μεταβαίνειν ἐκ προσώπων εἰς 195<sup>7</sup>  
πρόσωπα, ὥς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐκαταίῳ· 'Κῆϋξ δὲ ταῦτα  
δεινὰ ποιούμενος αὐτίκα ἐκέλενε τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἐπι-  
γόνους ἐκχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν δυνατός εἰμι ἀρήγειν. ὥς  
20 μὴ ὦν αὐτοὶ τε ἀπόλησθε καμὲ τρώσητε, ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ  
δῆμον ἀποίχεσθαι.' 3. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθένης κατ'  
ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος ἐμπαθὲς τὸ  
πολυπρόσωπον καὶ ἀγχίστροφον παρέστακεν. 'καὶ οὐδεὶς  
ὑμῶν χολὴν' φησὶν 'οὐδ' ὀργὴν ἔχων εὐρεθήσεται, ἐφ' οἷς  
25 ὁ βδελυρὸς οὗτος καὶ ἀναιδὴς βιάζεται; ὅς, ὦ μιαρώτατε  
ἀπάντων, κεκλειμένης σοι τῆς παρρησίας οὐ κιγκλίσιν  
οὐδὲ θύραις, ἃ καὶ παρανοίξειεν ἂν τις' ἐν ἀτελεῖ τῷ νῶ

1 διηγούμενου<sup>οσ</sup> μένον P. 6 ἐπισσεύεσθαι<sup>\*σ</sup> P. 8 μητίσσομαι<sup>σ</sup> P.  
9 πρέπουσαν El. Robortellus, τρέπουσαν P. 19 ἡμῖν P, corr. Stephanus.  
εἰ μὴ ἀρήγειν P. 20 ὦν P. ἀπόλησθε—τρώσητε] Robortellus,  
ἀπόλεσθε—τρώσετε P, ἀπολέεσθε—τρώσετε Cobetus. 24 χολὴν] libri Demo-  
sthenis, σχολὴν P. 26 κεκλειμένης P. οὐ κιγκλίσιν] libri Demosthenis  
Manutius, κιγκλίου P.

## XXVII

There is further the case in which a writer, when relating something about a person, suddenly breaks off and converts himself into that selfsame person. This species of figure is a kind of outburst of passion:—

Then with a far-ringing shout to the Trojans Hector cried,  
Bidding them rush on the ships, bidding leave the spoils blood-  
dyed—

And whomso I mark from the galleys aloof on the farther side,  
I will surely devise his death<sup>1</sup>.

The poet assigns the task of narration, as is fit, to himself, but the abrupt threat he suddenly, with no note of warning, attributes to the angered chief. It would have been frigid had he inserted the words, 'Hector said so and so.' As it is, the swift transition of the narrative has outstripped the swift transitions of the narrator. 2. Accordingly this figure should be used by preference when a sharp crisis does not suffer the writer to tarry, but constrains him to pass at once from one person to another. An example will be found in Hecataeus: 'Ceyx treated the matter gravely, and straightway bade the descendants of Heracles depart; for I am not able to succour you. In order, therefore, that ye may not perish yourselves and injure me, get you gone to some other country<sup>2</sup>.' 3. Demosthenes in dealing with Aristogeiton has, somewhat differently, employed this variation of person to betoken the quick play of emotion. 'And will none of you,' he asks, 'be found to be stirred by loathing or even by anger at the violent deeds of this vile and shameless fellow, who—you whose licence of speech, most abandoned of men, is not confined by barriers nor by doors, which might perchance be opened<sup>3</sup>!' With the sense thus incomplete, he suddenly

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xv. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Hecataeus*.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. *c. Aristog.* I. 27.



ταχὺ διαλλάξας καὶ μόνον οὐ μίαν λέξιν διὰ τὸν θυμὸν εἰς  
 δύο διασπάσας πρόσωπα ‘ὅς, ὦ μιαιώτατε,’ εἶτα πρὸς  
 τὸν Ἀριστογείτονα τὸν λόγον ἀποστρέψας καὶ ἀπολιπεῖν  
 δοκῶν, ὅμως διὰ τοῦ πάθους πολὺ πλεόν ἐπέστρεψεν.

5 4. οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ Πηνελόπη,

κῆρυξ, τίπτε δέ σε πρόεσαν μνηστῆρες ἀγανοί;  
 εἰπέμεναι δμῶῃσιν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο  
 ἔργων παύσασθαι, σφίσι δ’ αὐτοῖς δαῖτα πένεσθαι;  
 μὴ μνηστεύσαντες, μῆδ’ ἄλλοθ’ ὀμιλήσαντες,  
 10 ὕστατα καὶ πύματα νῦν ἐνθάδε δειπνήσειαν,  
 οἳ θάμ’ ἀγειρόμενοι βίον κατακείρετε πολλόν,  
 κτήσιν Τηλεμάχοιο δαΐφρονος· οὐδέ τι πατρῶν  
 ὑμετέρων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀκούετε παῖδες ἐόντες,  
 οἷος Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔσκε.

## XXVIII

15 Καὶ μέντοι περίφρασις ὡς οὐχ ὑψηλοποιόν, οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 οἶμαι διστάσειεν. ὥς γὰρ ἐν μουσικῇ διὰ τῶν παρα|φώνων 196<sup>r</sup>  
 καλουμένων ὁ κύριος φθόγγος ἡδίων ἀποτελεῖται, οὕτως ἡ  
 περίφρασις πολλάκις συμφθέγγεται τῇ κυριολογίᾳ καὶ εἰς  
 κόσμον ἐπὶ πολὺ συνηχεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ φυσῶδές  
 20 τι καὶ ἄμουσον ἀλλ’ ἡδέως κεκραμένον. 2. ἱκανὸς δέ  
 τοῦτο τεκμηριῶσαι καὶ Πλάτων κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τοῦ  
 Ἐπιταφίου· ‘ἔργω μὲν ἡμῶν οἶδ’ ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἰμαρμένην  
 πορείαν, προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δέ  
 25 ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων.’ οὐκοῦν τὸν θάνατον εἶπεν  
 εἰμαρμένην πορείαν, τὸ δὲ τετυχηκέναι τῶν νομιζομένων

2 τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστογείτονα λόγον P, corr. Manutius.

Spengelius, ἢ Πηνελόπην P, ἢ Πηνελόπη Faber Vahlenus.

8 σφίσι P.

11 θάμ’ P.

κατακείρετε P.

5 ἢ Πηνελόπη]

7 δμῶῃσιν P.

12 κτήσιν Τηλε-

μάχοιο δαΐφρονος· οὐδέ τι πατρῶν] libri Homeri Spengelius, κτήσιν Τηλεμάχοιο  
 δαΐφρονος om. P quem sequitur Vahlenus coll. p. 110. 9, ubi ad versum sup-  
 plendum desideratur ἀλλήλοισιν. 13 ἢ ὑμετέρων P. ὄντες P. 14 οἷος P.

15 περίφρασις in marg. P.

20 ἡδέως] Manutius, ἀδεῶς P.

breaks off and in his anger almost tears asunder a single expression into two persons,—‘he who, O thou most abandoned!’ Thus, although he has turned aside his address and seems to have left Aristogeiton, yet through passion he directs it upon him with far greater force. 4. Similarly with the words of Penelope:—

Herald, with what behest art thou come from the suitor-band?  
To give to the maids of Odysseus the godlike their command  
To forsake their labours, and yonder for them the banquet to lay?  
I would that of all their wooing this were the latest day,  
That this were the end of your banquets, your uttermost revelling-  
hour,  
Ye that assemble together and all our substance devour,  
The wise Telemachus’ store, as though ye never had heard,  
In the days overpast of your childhood, your fathers’ praising word,  
How good Odysseus was<sup>1</sup>.

## XXVIII

As to whether or no Periphrasis contributes to the sublime, no one, I think, will hesitate. For just as in music the so-called accompaniments bring out the charm of the melody, so also periphrasis often harmonises with the normal expression and adds greatly to its beauty, especially if it has a quality which is not inflated and dissonant but pleasantly tempered. 2. Plato will furnish an instance in proof at the opening of his Funeral Oration. ‘In truth they have gained from us their rightful tribute, in the enjoyment of which they proceed along their destined path, escorted by their country publicly, and privately each by his kinsmen<sup>2</sup>.’ Death he calls ‘their destined path,’ and the tribute of ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* IV. 681—689.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Menex.* 236 D.

προπομπήν τινα δημοσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος. ἄρα δὴ  
τούτοις μετρίως ὥγκωσε τὴν νόησιν, ἥ ψιλὴν λαβὼν τὴν  
λέξιν ἐμελοποίησε, καθάπερ ἁρμονίαν τινὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς  
περιφράσεως περιχεάμενος εὐμέλειαν; 3. καὶ Ξενοφῶν·  
5 ‘πόνον δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως ἡγεμόνα νομίζετε· κάλλιστον δὲ  
πάντων καὶ πολεμικώτατον κτῆμα εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς συγκε-  
κόμισθε· ἐπαινούμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι  
χαίρετε.’ ἀντὶ τοῦ πονεῖν θέλετε ‘πόνον ἡγεμόνα τοῦ  
ζῆν ἡδέως ποιείσθε’ εἰπὼν καὶ τᾶλλ’ ὁμοίως ἐπεκτείνας  
10 μεγάλην τινὰ ἔννοιαν τῷ ἐπαίνῳ προσπεριωρίσατο. 4. καὶ  
τὸ ἀμίμητον ἐκεῖνο τοῦ Ἡροδότου· ‘τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων τοῖς  
συλήσασιν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνέβαλεν ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον.’

## XXIX

Ἐπίκηρον μέντοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἡ περίφρασις, τῶν  
ἄλλων πλέον, εἰ μὴ συμμέτρως τινὲ λαμβάνοιτο· εὐθὺς  
15 γὰρ ἀβλεμὲς προσπίπτει, κουφολογίας τε ὄζον καὶ παχύ-  
τατον· | ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα (δεινὸς γὰρ αἰεὶ περὶ 196<sup>γ</sup>  
σχῆμα καὶ τισιν ἀκαίρως) ἐν τοῖς νόμοις λέγοντα ‘ὥς  
οὔτε ἀργυροῦν δεῖ πλοῦτον οὔτε χρυσοῦν ἐν πόλει ἰδρυ-  
μένον εἶν οἰκεῖν’ διαχλευάζουσιν, ὥς εἰ πρόβατα, φησὶν,  
20 ἐκώλυε κεκτῆσθαι, δῆλον ὅτι προβάτειον ἂν καὶ βόειον  
πλοῦτον ἔλεγεν.

2. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅλις ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν σχημά-  
των χρήσεως ἐκ παρενθήκης τοσαῦτα πεφιλολογήσθαι,  
Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα παθητικωτέρους  
25 καὶ συγκεκινημένους ἀποτελεῖ τοὺς λόγους· πάθος δὲ  
ὑψους μετέχει τοσοῦτον, ὅποσον ἦθος ἡδονῆς.

1 ἄρα] Manutius, ἄρα P.

3 τινὰ|τῇ τὴν P.

6 συγκεκόμισθε\* P.

9 ποι\*\*\*σθε P ποιείσθε P.

14 πλέον P.

15 ἀβλεμέσ in marg. P.

16 τὸν supra versum add. P.

customed rites he calls 'being escorted publicly by their fatherland.' Is it in a slight degree only that he has magnified the conception by the use of these words? Has he not rather, starting with unadorned diction, made it musical, and shed over it like a harmony the melodious rhythm which comes from periphrasis? 3. And Xenophon says, 'You regard toil as the guide to a joyous life. You have garnered in your souls the goodliest of all possessions and the fittest for warriors. For you rejoice in praise more than in all else<sup>1</sup>.' In using, instead of 'you are willing to toil,' the words 'you deem toil the guide to a joyous life,' and in expanding the rest of the sentence in like manner, he has annexed to his eulogy a lofty idea. 4. And so with that inimitable phrase of Herodotus: 'The goddess afflicted with an unsexing malady those Scythians who had pillaged the temple<sup>2</sup>.'

## XXIX

A hazardous business, however, eminently hazardous is periphrasis, unless it be handled with discrimination; otherwise it speedily falls flat, with its odour of empty talk and its swelling amplitude. This is the reason why Plato (who is always strong in figurative language, and at times unseasonably so) is taunted because in his *Laws* he says that 'neither gold nor silver treasure should be allowed to establish itself and abide in the city<sup>3</sup>.' The critic says that, if he had been forbidding the possession of cattle, he would obviously have spoken of ovine and bovine treasure. 2. But our parenthetical disquisition with regard to the use of figures as bearing upon the sublime has run to sufficient length, my dear Terentianus; for all these things lend additional passion and animation to style, and passion is as intimately allied with sublimity as sketches of character with entertainment.

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Cyrop.* 1. 5. 12.<sup>2</sup> Herod. 1. 105.<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Leyes*, 801 B.

## XXX

Ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἡ τοῦ λόγου νόησις ἢ τε φράσις τὰ πλείω δι' ἑκατέρου διέπτυκται, ἴθι δὴ, ἂν τοῦ φραστικοῦ μέρους ἢ τινα λοιπὰ ἔτι, προσεπιθεασώμεθα. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἡ τῶν κυρίων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογὴ 5 θαυμαστῶς ἄγει καὶ κατακληῖ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καὶ ὡς πᾶσι τοῖς ῥήτορσι καὶ συγγραφεῦσι κατ' ἄκρον ἐπιτήδευμα, μέγεθος ἅμα κάλλος εὐπίνειαν βάρος ἰσχὺν κράτος, ἔτι δὲ τᾶλλα ἂν ὥσιν τινα τοῖς λόγοις ὥσπερ ἀγάλμασι καλλίστοις δι' αὐτῆς ἐπανθεῖν παρασκευάζουσα καὶ οἶονεῖ 10 ψυχὴν τινα τοῖς πράγμασι φωνητικὴν ἐντιθεῖσα, μὴ καὶ περιττὸν ἢ πρὸς εἰδότας διεξιέναι. φῶς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἴδιον τοῦ νοῦ τὰ καλὰ ὀνόματα. 2. ὁ μέντοι γε ὄγκος αὐτῶν οὐ πάντῃ χρειώδης, ἐπεὶ τοῖς μικροῖς πραγματίοις περιτιθέναι μεγάλα καὶ σεμνὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτ' ἂν φαί- 15 νοιτο, ὡς εἴ τις τραγικὸν προσωπεῖον μέγα παιδὶ περιθείη νηπίῳ, πλὴν ἐν μὲν ποιήσει καὶ ἰ . . . .

DESUNT QVATVOR FOLIA

## XXXI

. . . . | θρεπτικώτατον καὶ γόνιμον, τὸ δ' Ἀνακρέοντος· 197<sup>τ</sup>  
 'οὐκέτι Θρηκίης ἐπιστρέφομαι.' ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοπόμπου καινὸν ἐπαινετόν· διὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἔμοιγε 20 σημαντικώτατα ἔχειν δοκεῖ· ὅπερ ὁ Κεκίλιος οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως καταμέμφεται. 'δεινὸς ὦν' φησὶν 'ὁ Φίλιππος ἀναγοφάγησαι πράγματα.' ἔστιν ἄρ' ὁ ἰδιωτισμὸς

2 δι'] Manutius Vahlenus, δὲ P Spengelius. \*ἢ P δὴ P. 3 ἦ] Spengelius, εἴ P. 8 τᾶλλα Manutius, τ' P. 11 ἦ P. 16 καὶ ἰ] P, καὶ ἱστορίᾳ Tollius; desinit hic secundum folium quaternionis KH, desunt folia III. IV. V. VI.; incipit septimum a litteris πτικώτατον, quibus praeposuit m. rec. θρε. 17 τὸ δ'\* (τὸ in ras. corr.) P. 18 θρηκίης P. ἐπιστρέφομαι P. 19 καινὸν ἐπαινετόν] Vahlenus, καὶ τὸν ἐπήνετον P Spengelius, ἐκείνο τὸ ἐπαινετόν Manutius, ἐκείνο ἐπαινετόν Hammerus. τὸ\* P.

## XXX

Since, however, it is the case that, in discourse, thought and diction are for the most part developed one through the other, come let us proceed to consider any branches of the subject of diction which have so far been neglected. Now it is, no doubt, superfluous to dilate to those who know it well upon the fact that the choice of proper and striking words wonderfully attracts and enthralls the hearer, and that such a choice is the leading ambition of all orators and writers, since it is the direct agency which ensures the presence in writings, as upon the fairest statues, of the perfection of grandeur, beauty, mellowness, dignity, force, power, and any other high qualities there may be, and breathes into dead things a kind of living voice. All this it is, I say, needless to mention, for beautiful words are in very truth the peculiar light of thought. 2. It may, however, be pointed out that stately language is not to be used everywhere, since to invest petty affairs with great and high-sounding names would seem just like putting a full-sized tragic mask upon an infant boy. But in poetry and.....

## XXXI

.....full of vigour and racy; and so is Anacreon's line, 'That Thracian mare no longer do I heed<sup>1</sup>.' In this way, too, that original expression of Theopompus merits praise. Owing to the correspondence between word and thing it seems to me to be highly expressive; and yet Caecilius for some unexplained reason finds fault with it. 'Philip,' says Theopompus, 'had a genius for *stomaching* things<sup>2</sup>.' Now

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Anacreon*.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Theopompus*.

ἐνίστε τοῦ κόσμου παρὰ πολὺ ἐμφανιστικώτερον· ἐπι-  
 γινώσκεται γὰρ αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινου βίου, τὸ δὲ  
 σύννηθες ἤδη πιστότερον. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰ αἰσχροῦ  
 καὶ ῥυπαρὰ τλημόνως καὶ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα πλεονεξίας  
 5 καρτεροῦντος τὸ ἀναγκοφαγεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἐναργέστατα  
 παρείληπται. 2. ὧδέ πως ἔχει καὶ τὰ Ἡροδότεια· 'ὁ  
 Κλεομένης' φησὶ 'μανεῖς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ σάρκας ξιφιδίῳ  
 κατέτεμεν εἰς λεπτά, ἕως ὅλον καταχορδεύων ἑαυτὸν διέ-  
 φθειρεν.' καὶ 'ὁ Πύθης ἕως τοῦδε ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς ἐμάχετο,  
 10 ἕως ἅπας κατεκρεουργήθη.' ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς παραξύνει  
 τὸν ιδιώτην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰδιωτεύει τῷ σημαντικῶς.

## XXXII

Περὶ δὲ πλήθους μεταφορῶν ὁ μὲν Κεκίλιος ἔοικε  
 συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς δύο ἢ τὸ πλείστον τρεῖς ἐπὶ ταῦτοῦ  
 νομοθετοῦσι τάττεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ Δημοσθένης ὅρος καὶ τῶν  
 15 τοιούτων. ὁ τῆς χρείας δὲ καιρός, ἔνθα τὰ πάθη χειμάρρον  
 δίκην ἐλαύνεται, καὶ τὴν πολυπλήθειαν αὐτῶν ὡς ἀναγ-  
 καίαν ἐνταῦθα συνεφέλκεται. 2. 'ἄνθρωποι' φησὶ  
 'μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκα-  
 στοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον  
 20 Φιλίππῳ, νυνὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ  
 τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ 197  
 τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην, ἃ τοῖς πρότερον Ἑλλήσιν ὅροι  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετροφότες.' ἐνταῦθα  
 τῷ πλήθει τῶν τροπικῶν ὁ κατὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ἐπιπροσθεῖ  
 25 τοῦ ῥήτορος θυμός. 3. διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ ὁ  
 Θεόφραστος μειλίγματα φασὶ τίνα τῶν θρασειῶν εἶναι  
 ταῦτα μεταφορῶν, τὸ 'ὥσπερ εἰ' φάναι καὶ 'οἶον εἰ' καὶ  
 'εἰ χρὴ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν τὸν τρόπον' καὶ 'εἰ δεῖ παρακινδυ-

5 ἀναγκο\*φαγεῖν P. 7 ξιφιδίῳ P. 8 κ\*|τέτεμεν P κα|τέτεμεν P.  
 12 μεταφορῶν] Robortellus, καὶ μεταφορῶν P. 13 τοῖς δύο] Robortellus, τοὺς  
 δύο P. 24 ἐπιπροσθεῖ] Robortellus, ἐπίπροσθε P. 26 θρασέων P, corr.  
 Robortellus. 27 τὸ] Spengelius, τὰ P.

a homely expression of this kind is sometimes much more telling than elegant language, for it is understood at once since it is drawn from common life, and the fact that it is familiar makes it only the more convincing. So the words 'stomaching things' are used most strikingly of a man who, for the sake of attaining his own ends, patiently and with cheerfulness endures things shameful and vile. 2. So with the words of Herodotus. 'Cleomenes,' he says, 'went mad, and with a small sword cut the flesh of his own body into strips, until he slew himself by making mincemeat of his entire person<sup>1</sup>.' And, 'Pythes fought on shipboard, until he was utterly hacked to pieces<sup>2</sup>.' These phrases graze the very edge of vulgarity, but they are saved from vulgarity by their expressiveness.

## XXXII

Further, with regard to the number of metaphors to be employed, Caecilius seems to assent to the view of those who lay it down that not more than two, or at the most three, should be ranged together in the same passage. Demosthenes is, in fact, the standard in this as in other matters. The proper time for using metaphors is when the passions roll like a torrent and sweep a multitude of them down their resistless flood. 2. 'Men,' says he, 'who are vile flatterers, who have maimed their own fatherlands each one of them, who have toasted away their liberty first to Philip and now to Alexander, who measure happiness by their belly and their lowest desires, and who have overthrown that liberty and that freedom from despotic mastery which to the Greeks of an earlier time were the rules and standards of good<sup>3</sup>.' Here the orator's wrath against the traitors throws a veil over the number of the tropes. 3. In the same spirit, Aristotle and Theophrastus point out that the following phrases serve to soften bold metaphors—'as if,' and 'as it were,' and 'if one may so say,' and 'if one may venture such an expression'; for the

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. vii. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. *de Cor.* 296.



νευτικώτερον λέξαι.' ἡ γὰρ ὑποτίμησις, φασίν, ἰᾶται τὰ  
 τολμηρά. 4. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδέχομαι, ὅμως  
 δὲ πλήθους καὶ τόλμης μεταφορῶν, ὅπερ ἔφην καπὶ τῶν  
 σχημάτων, τὰ εὐκαιρα καὶ σφοδρὰ πάθη καὶ τὸ γενναῖον  
 5 ὕψος εἶναί φημι ἰδιά τινα ἀλεξιφάρμακα, ὅτι τῷ ῥοθίῳ  
 τῆς φορᾶς ταυτὶ πέφυκεν ἅπαντα τᾶλλα παρασύρειν καὶ  
 προωθεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀναγκαῖα πάντως εἰσπράτ-  
 τεσθαι τὰ παράβολα, καὶ οὐκ ἔᾶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν σχολάζειν  
 περὶ τὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεγχον διὰ τὸ συνενθουσιᾶν τῷ  
 10 λέγοντι. 5. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε ταῖς τοπηγορίαις καὶ δια-  
 γραφαῖς οὐκ ἄλλο τι οὕτως κατασημαντικὸν ὡς οἱ συν-  
 εχεῖς καὶ ἐπάλληλοι τρόποι. δι' ὧν καὶ παρὰ Ξενοφῶντι  
 ἡ τὰνθρωπίνου σκήνους ἀνατομὴ πομπικῶς καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 ἀναζωγραφεῖται θείως παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι. τὴν μὲν κεφα-  
 15 λὴν αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀκρόπολιν, ἰσθμὸν δὲ μέσον διωκοδο-  
 μῆσθαι μεταξὺ τοῦ στήθους τὸν αὐχένα, σφονδύλους τε  
 ὑπεστηρίχθαι φησιν οἶον στρόφιγγας, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἡδονὴν  
 ἀνθρώποις εἶναι κακοῦ | δέλεαρ, γλώσσαν δὲ γεύσεως 198<sup>8</sup>  
 δοκίμιον· ἀναμμα δὲ τῶν φλεβῶν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ πηγὴν  
 20 τοῦ περιφερομένου σφοδρῶς αἵματος, εἰς τὴν δορυφορικὴν  
 οἴκησιν κατατεταγμένην· τὰς δὲ διαδρομὰς τῶν πόρων  
 ὀνομάζει στενωπούς· 'τῇ δὲ πηδήσει τῆς καρδίας, ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν δεινῶν προσδοκίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θυμοῦ ἐπεγέρσει, ἐπειδὴ  
 25 πλεύμονος ἰδέαν ἐνεφύτευσαν, μαλακὴν καὶ ἀναιμον καὶ σή-  
 ραγγας ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν οἶον μάλαγμα, ἔν' ὃ θυμὸς ὁπότ' ἐν  
 αὐτῇ ζέσῃ, πηδῶσα εἰς ὑπεῖκον μὴ λυμαίνεται.' καὶ τὴν  
 μὲν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν οἴκησιν προσεῖπεν ὡς γυναικωνῖτιν,

3 καπὶ] Pearcius, κάπειτα P.  
 ἀναγκα\*\* P ἀναγκαῖα P.

5 ἀλεξιφάρκακα P.  
 10 ταί\*\*\*πηγορίαις P ταῖς τοπηγορίαις P.

11 κατασημαντ\*\*\* P κατασημαντικὸν P.

18 εἰκακὸν P superscripto ναι a

m. rec., correxit Vahlenus ex Platonis Timaeo 69 D.

24 φασί P, corr. Tollius.

25 ἐνεφύτευσεν P, corr. Manutius.

26 ὁποῖον P. ὁπότ' P.

28 \* \* \*  
 προσεῖπεν P.

qualifying words mitigate, they say, the audacity of expression<sup>1</sup>.  
4. I accept that view, but still for number and boldness of metaphors I maintain, as I said in dealing with figures, that strong and timely passion and noble sublimity are the appropriate palliatives. For it is the nature of the passions, in their vehement rush, to sweep and thrust everything before them, or rather to demand hazardous turns as altogether indispensable. They do not allow the hearer leisure to criticise the number of the metaphors because he is carried away by the fervour of the speaker. 5. Moreover, in the treatment of commonplaces and in descriptions there is nothing so impressive as a number of tropes following close one upon the other. It is by this means that in Xenophon the anatomy of the human tabernacle is magnificently depicted, and still more divinely in Plato. Plato says that its head is a citadel; in the midst, between the head and the breast, is built the neck like some isthmus. The vertebrae, he says, are fixed beneath like pivots. Pleasure is a bait which tempts men to ill, the tongue the test of taste; the heart is the knot of the veins and the wellspring of the blood that courses round impetuously, and it is stationed in the guard-house of the body. The passages by which the blood races this way and that he names alleys. He says that the gods, contriving succour for the beating of the heart (which takes place when dangers are expected, and when wrath excites it, since it then reaches a fiery heat), have implanted the lungs, which are soft and bloodless and have pores within, to serve as a buffer, in order that the heart may, when its inward wrath boils over, beat against a yielding substance and so escape injury. The seat of the desires he compared to the women's

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Aristotle*.

τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀνδρωνίτιν· τὸν γε μὴν σπλήνα  
 τῶν ἐντὸς μαγεῖον, ὅθεν πληρούμενος τῶν ἀποκαθαί-  
 ρομένων μέγας καὶ ὑπουργὸς αὖξεται. ‘μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 σαρξὶ πάντα’ φησί ‘κατεσκίασαν, προβολὴν τῶν ἔξωθεν  
 5 τὴν σάρκα, οἶον τὰ πιλήματα, προθέμενοι.’ νομὴν δὲ  
 σαρκῶν ἔφη τὸ αἷμα· τῆς δὲ τροφῆς ἕνεκα, φησί, διω-  
 χέτευσαν τὸ σῶμα, τέμνοντες ὥσπερ ἐν κήποις ὀχετούς,  
 ὡς ἔκ τινος νάματος ἐπιόντος, ἀραιοῦ ὄντος αὐλῶνος τοῦ  
 σώματος, τὰ τῶν φλεβῶν ῥέοι νάματα. ἡνίκα δὲ ἡ  
 10 τελευτὴ παραστῇ, λύεσθαί φησι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶονεῖ  
 νεὼς πείσματα, μεθεῖσθαί τε αὐτὴν ἐλευθέραν. 6. ταῦτα  
 καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια μυρί’ ἅττα ἐστὶν ἐξῆς· ἀπόχρη δὲ  
 τὰ δεδηλωμένα, ὡς μεγάλαι τε φύσιν εἰσὶν αἱ τροπικαί,  
 καὶ | ὡς ὑψηλοποιὸν αἱ μεταφοραί, καὶ ὅτι οἱ παθητικοὶ 198<sup>8</sup>  
 15 καὶ φραστικοὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐταῖς χαίρουσι τόποι.  
 7. ὅτι μέντοι καὶ ἡ χρῆσις τῶν τρόπων, ὥσπερ τᾶλλα  
 πάντα καλὰ ἐν λόγοις, προαγωγὸν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄμετρον,  
 δῆλον ἤδη, καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω. ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις καὶ τὸν  
 Πλάτωνα οὐχ ἥκιστα διασύρουσι, πολλάκις ὥσπερ ὑπὸ  
 20 βακχείας τινὸς τῶν λόγων εἰς ἀκράτους καὶ ἀπηνεῖς μετα-  
 φορὰς καὶ εἰς ἀλληγορικὸν στόμφον ἐκφερόμενον. ‘οὐ  
 γὰρ ῥάδιον ἐπινοεῖν’ φησὶν ‘ὅτι πόλιν εἶναι δεῖ δίκην  
 κρατῆρος κεκερασμένην, οὗ μαινόμενος μὲν οἶνος ἐγκε-  
 χυμένος ζεῖ, κολαζόμενος δ’ ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἐτέρου θεοῦ,  
 25 καλὴν κοινωνίαν λαβὼν ἀγαθὸν πόμα καὶ μέτριον ἀπερ-  
 γάζεται.’ νήφοντα γάρ, φασί, θεὸν τὸ ὕδωρ λέγειν,  
 κόλασιν δὲ τὴν κρᾶσιν, ποιητοῦ τινος τῷ ὄντι οὐχὶ

2 <sup>ρεῖ</sup> μάγειον P superscripto <sup>ρεῖ</sup> a m. rec., corr. Is. Vossius. <sup>σ</sup> πληρούμενο\* P.  
 4 φησί] Robortellus, φύσιν P. 5 πηδήματα P, corr. Toupus. 6 διοχέ-  
 τευσαν P. 12 ἀπόχρη δεδηλωμένα P, δὲ τὰ extra lineam addidit m. rec.  
 17 αἰεὶ P. 22 δεῖ om. P, add. ex Platone Manutius. 23 κεκερα\*|σμένην P.  
 οὐ] ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅπου in marg. P. ἐγκεχυμένος codd. Platonis, Manutius. ἐκκεχυ-  
 μένοσ P. 24 ζῇ P, ζεῖ m. rec. P. 26 τὸ\* ὕδωρ P.

apartments in a house, that of anger to the men's. The spleen he called the napkin of the inward parts, whence it is filled with secretions and grows to a great and festering bulk. After this, the gods canopied the whole with flesh, putting forward the flesh as a defence against injuries from without, as though it were a hair-cushion. The blood he called the fodder of the flesh. 'In order to promote nutrition,' he continues, 'they irrigated the body, cutting conduits as in gardens, in order that, with the body forming a set of tiny channels, the streams of the veins might flow as from a never-failing source.' When the end comes, he says that the cables of the soul are loosed like those of a ship, and she is allowed to go free<sup>1</sup>. 6. Examples of a similar nature are to be found in a never-ending series. But those indicated are enough to show that figurative language possesses great natural power, and that metaphors contribute to the sublime; and at the same time that it is impassioned and descriptive passages which rejoice in them to the greatest extent. 7. It is obvious, however, even though I do not dwell upon it, that the use of tropes, like all other beauties of expression, is apt to lead to excess. On this score Plato himself is much criticised, since he is often carried away by a sort of frenzy of words into strong and harsh metaphors and into inflated allegory. 'For it is not readily observed,' he says, 'that a city ought to be mixed like a bowl, in which the mad wine seethes when it has been poured in, though when chastened by another god who is sober, falling thus into noble company, it makes a good and temperate drink<sup>2</sup>.' For to call water 'a sober god,' and mixing 'chastening,' is—the critics say—the language of a

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Tim.* 65 c—85 E.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Leges*, 773 C.

νήφοντός ἐστι. 8. τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐλαττώμασιν ἐπιχειρῶν  
 ὅμως αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κεκίλιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Λυσίου συγγράμ-  
 μασιν ἀπεθάρρησε τῷ παντὶ Λυσίαν ἀμείνω Πλάτωνος  
 ἀποφήνασθαι, δυσὶ πάθεσι χρησάμενος ἀκρίτοις· φιλῶν  
 5 γὰρ τὸν Λυσίαν ὥς οὐδ' αὐτὸς αὐτόν, ὅμως μᾶλλον μισεῖ  
 τῷ παντὶ Πλάτωνα ἢ Λυσίαν φιλεῖ. πλὴν οὗτος μὲν ὑπὸ  
 φιλονεικίας, οὐδὲ τὰ θέματα ὁμολογούμενα, καθάπερ  
 ᾤθη. ὥς γὰρ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ καθαρὸν τὸν ῥήτορα  
 προφέρει πολλαχῇ διημαρτημένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος, τὸ δ'  
 10 ἦν ἄρα οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ ὀλίγου δεῖ.

## XXXIII.

Φέρε δὴ, λάβωμεν τῷ ὄντι καθαρὸν τινα συγγραφέα 199<sup>9</sup>  
 καὶ ἀνέγκλητον. ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐστι διαπορῆσαι περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ τούτου καθολικῶς, πότερόν ποτε κρεῖττον ἐν ποιή-  
 μασι καὶ λόγοις, μέγεθος ἐν ἐνίοις διημαρτημένοις, ἢ τὸ  
 15 σύμμετρον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κατορθώμασιν, ὑγιὲς δὲ πάντη  
 καὶ ἀδιάπτωτον; καὶ ἔτι νῆ Δία, πότερόν ποτε αἱ πλείους  
 ἀρεταὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐν λόγοις ἢ αἱ μείζους δικαίως ἂν  
 φέροντο; ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτ' οἰκεία τοῖς περὶ ὕψους σκέμ-  
 ματα καὶ ἐπικρίσεως ἐξ ἅπαντος δεόμενα. 2. ἐγὼ δ'  
 20 οἶδα μὲν, ὥς αἱ ὑπερμεγέθεις φύσεις ἥκιστα καθαραὶ· τὸ  
 γὰρ ἐν παντὶ ἀκριβὲς κίνδυνος μικρότητος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
 μεγέθεσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν πλούτοις, εἶναί τι χρή καὶ  
 παρολιγωρούμενον· μήποτε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἦ, τὸ  
 τὰς μὲν ταπεινὰς καὶ μέσας φύσεις διὰ τὸ μηδαμῇ παρα-  
 25 κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἄκρων ἀναμαρτήτους ὥς  
 ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρας διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα

1 ἐλαττώμασι P, ν add. m. rec. P.

2 ὅ κε ὅμως αὐτὸ καίκελιος (ai in ras.

corr., ὁ κε superscr. a m. rec.) P.

10 δεῖ\* P.

16 πότερόν ποτε\* P.

19 δεόμενα P.

20 \*\* γὰρ (τὸ add. m. rec.) P.

22 κίνδυνος σμικρότητος]

Manutius, κινδυνουσμικρότητος P.

23 τοῦτο] Manutius, τούτου P.

ἢ P, ἦ m.

rec. P.

26 τὰ] Robortellus, τὸ P.

poet, and one who is in truth far from sober. 8. Fastening upon such defects, however, Caecilius ventured, in his writings in praise of Lysias, to make the assertion that Lysias was altogether superior to Plato. In so doing he gave way to two blind impulses of passion. Loving Lysias better even than himself, he nevertheless hates Plato more perfectly than he loves Lysias. In fact, he is carried away by the spirit of contention, and even his premisses are not, as he thought, admitted. For he prefers the orator as faultless and immaculate to Plato as one who has often made mistakes. But the truth is not of this nature, nor anything like it.

### XXXIII

Come, now, let us take some writer who is really immaculate and beyond reproach. Is it not worth while, on this very point, to raise the general question whether we ought to give the preference, in poems and prose writings, to grandeur with some attendant faults, or to success which is moderate but altogether sound and free from error? Aye, and further, whether a greater number of excellences, or excellences higher in quality, would in literature rightly bear away the palm? For these are inquiries appropriate to a treatise on the sublime, and they imperatively demand a settlement. 2. For my part, I am well aware that lofty genius is far removed from flawlessness; for invariable accuracy incurs the risk of pettiness, and in the sublime, as in great fortunes, there must be something which is overlooked. It may be necessarily the case that low and average natures remain as a rule free from failing and in greater safety because they never run a risk or seek to scale the heights, while great endowments prove insecure because of

ἐπισφαλῇ δι' αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος. 3. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοῶ τὸ δεύτερον, ὅτι φύσει πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώ-  
πεια ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιγινώσκεται καὶ τῶν  
μὲν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀνεξάλειπτος ἢ μνήμη παραμένει, τῶν  
5 καλῶν δὲ ταχέως ἀπορρεῖ. 4. παρατεθειμένος δ' οὐκ  
ὀλίγα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμαρτήματα καὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων,  
ὅσοι μέγιστοι, καὶ ἥκιστα τοῖς πταίσμασιν ἀρεσκόμενος,  
ὅμως δὲ οὐχ ἀμαρτήματα μᾶλλον αὐτὰ ἐκούσια καλῶν ἢ  
παροράματα δι' ἀμέλειαν εἰκὴ που καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ  
10 μεγαλοφυΐας ἀνεπιστάτως παρενηνεγμένα, οὐδὲν ἥττον 199<sup>9</sup>  
οἶμαι τὰς μείζονας ἀρετάς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι διομαλίζουσιν,  
τὴν τοῦ πρωτείου ψῆφον μᾶλλον αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι, καὶ εἰ  
μὴ δι' ἐνὸς ἐτέρου, τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης αὐτῆς ἕνεκα.  
ἐπείτοιγε καὶ ἄπτωτος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις  
15 ποιητῆς καὶ τοῖς βουκολικοῖς πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν  
ὁ Θεόκριτος ἐπιτυχέστατος, ἄρ' οὖν Ὀμηρος ἂν μᾶλλον  
ἢ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐθέλοις γενέσθαι; 5. τί δέ; Ἐρατοσθένους  
ἐν τῇ Ἡριγόνῃ (διὰ πάντων γὰρ ἀμώμητον τὸ ποιημάτιον)  
Ἀρχιλόχου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνοικονόμητα παρασύροντος, κακέι-  
20 νης τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου πνεύματος, ἣν ὑπὸ νόμον  
τάξαι δύσκολον, ἄρα δὴ μείζων ποιητῆς; τί δ'; ἐν μέλεσι  
μᾶλλον ἂν εἶναι Βακχυλίδης ἔλοιο ἢ Πίνδαρος καὶ ἐν  
τραγωδίᾳ Ἴων ὁ Χῖος ἢ νῆ Δία Σοφοκλῆς; ἐπειδὴ οἱ μὲν  
ἀδιάπτωτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ γλαφυρῷ πάντῃ κεκαλλιγραφημένοι.  
25 ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὅτε μὲν οἶον πάντα ἐπι-  
φλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις,  
καὶ πίπτουσιν αὐτυχέστατα. ἢ οὐδεὶς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἐνὸς

2 ἐκεῖνο] Manutius, ἐκείνου P. 3 αἰεὶ P. 6 ἀμαρτήματα P.  
11 ἀρετάς] Petra, αἰτίας P. 12 αἰεὶ P. 14 ἐπείτοιγε P. Ἀπολλώνιος  
ἐν τοῖς] Spengelius, ἀπόλλων τοῖς P, ἀπολλώνιουσ (h. e. ἀπολλώνοις τοῖς) m. rec. P.  
ἀργονάυτ' P. 15 βουκολίῳ P. 19 Ἀρχιλόχου] Manutius, ἀρχιλοχον P.  
παρασύροντος] Manutius, παρασύροντας P. 21 μείζον P. μέλεσι P.  
24 κεκαλλιγραφημένοι P κεκαλλιγραφημένοι P.

their very greatness. 3. In the second place, I am not ignorant that it naturally happens that the worse side of human character is always the more easily recognised, and that the memory of errors remains indelible, while that of excellences quickly dies away. 4. I have myself noted not a few errors on the part of Homer and other writers of the greatest distinction, and the slips they have made afford me anything but pleasure. Still I do not term them wilful errors, but rather oversights of a random and casual kind, due to neglect and introduced with all the heedlessness of genius. Consequently I do not waver in my view that excellences higher in quality, even if not sustained throughout, should always on a comparison be voted the first place, because of their sheer elevation of spirit if for no other reason. Granted that Apollonius in his *Argonautica* shows himself a poet who does not trip, and that in his pastorals Theocritus is, except in a few externals, most happy, would you not, for all that, choose to be Homer rather than Apollonius? 5. Again: does Eratosthenes in the *Erigone* (a little poem which is altogether free from flaw) show himself a greater poet than Archilochus with the rich and disorderly abundance which follows in his train and with that outburst of the divine spirit within him which it is difficult to bring under the rules of law? Once more: in lyric poetry would you prefer to be Bacchylides rather than Pindar? And in tragedy to be Ion of Chios rather than—Sophocles? It is true that Bacchylides and Ion are faultless and entirely elegant writers of the polished school; while Pindar and Sophocles, although at times they burn everything before them as it were in their swift career, are often extinguished unaccountably and fail most lamentably. But would anyone in his senses regard



δράματος, τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, εἰς ταὐτὸ συνθεῖς τὰ Ἴωνος  
ἀντιτιμήσαιο ἑξῆς ;

## XXXIV

Εἰ δ' ὄρω μὴ τῷ ἀληθεῖ κρίνοιτο τὰ κατορθώματα,  
οὕτως ἂν καὶ Ὑπερίδης τῷ παντὶ προέχοι Δημοσθένους.  
5 ἔστι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πολυφωνότερος καὶ πλείους ἀρετὰς ἔχων,  
καὶ σχεδὸν ὑπακρος ἐν πᾶσιν ὥς ὁ πένταθλος, ὥστε τῶν  
μὲν πρωτείων ἐν ᾗπασι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγωνιστῶν λείπεσθαι,  
πρωτεύειν δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. 2. ὁ μὲν γε Ὑπερίδης πρὸς  
τῷ πάντα ἔξω γε τῆς συνθέσεως | μιμῆσθαι τὰ Δημο- 200<sup>ο</sup>  
10 σθένεια κατορθώματα καὶ τὰς Λυσιακὰς ἐκ περιττοῦ  
περιεῖληφεν ἀρετὰς τε καὶ χάριτας. καὶ γὰρ λαλεῖ μετὰ  
ἀφελείας ἔνθα χρή, καὶ οὐ πάντα ἑξῆς καὶ μονοτόνως ὥς  
ὁ Δημοσθένης λέγει· τό τε ἠθικὸν ἔχει μετὰ γλυκύτητος  
ἡδὺν λιτῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον· ἄφατοί τε περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσιν  
15 ἀστεῖσμοί, μυκτῆρ πολιτικώτατος, εὐγένεια, τὸ κατὰ τὰς  
εἰρωνείας εὐπάλαιστρον, σκώμματα οὐκ ἄμουσα οὐδ'  
ἀνάγωγα κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ἐπικείμενα,  
διασυρμός τε ἐπιδέξιος καὶ πολὺν τὸ κωμικὸν καὶ μετὰ  
παιδιᾶς εὐστόχου κέντρον, ἀμίμητον δὲ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐν πᾶσι  
20 τούτοις ἐπαφρόδιτον· οἰκτίσασθαί τε προσφνέστατος, ἔτι  
δὲ μυθολογῆσαι κεχυμένος καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξο-  
δεῦσαι ἔτι εὐκαμπῆς ἄκρως, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὰ μὲν περὶ  
τὴν Λητὴν ποιητικώτερα, τὸν δ' ἐπιτάφιον ἐπιδεικτικῶς,  
ὥς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, διέθετο. 3. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης  
25 ἀνηθοποίητος, ἀδιάχυτος, ἡκιστα ὑγρὸς ἢ ἐπιδεικτικός,  
ἀπάντων ἑξῆς τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ τὸ πλεόν ἄμοιρος.  
ἔνθα μέντοι γελοῖος εἶναι βιάζεται καὶ ἀστεῖος, οὐ γέλωτα

3 ὄρω] Iohannes P. Postgate, ἀριθμῶ P. 4 περὶ ὑπερίδου Ση in marg. P.

6 ὑπακρῶς (ο superscripto a m. rec.) P. 11 λαλεῖ μετὰ] Pearcius, λαλεύματα P.  
13 λέγει] Manutius, λέγεται P. 15 ἀστ\*ισμοί P ἀστεισμοί P. 16 εὐπά-  
λαιστον ρ eraso P. σκώμματα ex σκόμματα P. 19 παιδείας (ι superscripto  
a m. rec.) P. 22 ἄκρως] Manutius, ἄκροσ P Spengelius. 25 ὑγρὸς P.

all the compositions of Ion put together as an equivalent for the single play of the *Oedipus*?

## XXXIV

If successful writing were to be estimated by number of merits and not by the true criterion, thus judged Hyperides would be altogether superior to Demosthenes. For he has a greater variety of accents than Demosthenes and a greater number of excellences, and like the pentathlete he falls just below the top in every branch. In all the contests he has to resign the first place to his rivals, while he maintains that place as against all ordinary persons. 2. Now Hyperides not only imitates all the strong points of Demosthenes with the exception of his composition, but he has embraced in a singular degree the excellences and graces of Lysias as well. For he talks with simplicity, where it is required, and does not adopt like Demosthenes one unvarying tone in all his utterances. He possesses the gift of characterisation in a sweet and pleasant form and with a touch of piquancy. There are innumerable signs of wit in him—the most polished raillery, high-bred ease, supple skill in the contests of irony, jests not tasteless or rude after the well-known Attic manner but naturally suggested by the subject, clever ridicule, much comic power, biting satire with well-directed fun, and what may be termed an inimitable charm investing the whole. He is excellently fitted by nature to excite pity; in narrating a fable he is facile, and with his pliant spirit he is also most easily turned towards a digression (as for instance in his rather poetical presentation of the story of Leto), while he has treated his Funeral Oration in the epideictic vein with probably unequalled success. 3. Demosthenes, on the other hand, is not an apt delineator of character, he is not facile, he is anything but pliant or epideictic, he is comparatively lacking in the entire list of excellences just given. Where he forces himself to be jocular and pleasant, he does not excite laughter but rather becomes

κινεῖ μάλλον ἢ καταγελάται, ὅταν δὲ ἐγγίξειν θέλη τῷ ἐπίχαρις εἶναι, τότε πλέον ἀφίσταται. τό γέ τοι περὶ Φρύνης ἢ Ἀθηνογένους λογίδιον ἐπιχειρήσας γράφειν ἔτι μάλλον ἂν Ὑπερίδην συνέστησεν. 4. ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ, 5 οἶμαι, τὰ μὲν θατέρου καλὰ, καὶ εἰ πολλὰ, ὅμως ἀμεγέθη καρδίῃ νήφοντος ἀργὰ καὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἡρεμεῖν ἐῶντα (οὐδείς γοῦν Ὑπερίδην ἀναγινώσκων φοβεῖται), ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν ἐλὼν τοῦ μεγαλοφυστάτου καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετὰς συντε- 200<sup>ο</sup> τελεσμένας, ὑψηγορίας τόνον, ἔμψυχα πάθη, περιουσίαν 10 ἀγχίνοιαν τάχος, ἔνθα δὴ κύριον, τὴν ἅπασιν ἀπρόσιτον δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα, φημί, ὡς θεόπεμπτα δεινὰ δωρήματα (οὐ γὰρ εἰπεῖν θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπινα) ἀθρόα ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἔσπασεν, διὰ τοῦτο οἷς ἔχει καλοῖς ἅπαντας αἰὲ νικᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὥσπερ καταβροντᾷ 15 καὶ καταφέγγει τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ῥήτορας· καὶ θάπτον ἄν τις κεραυνοῖς φερομένοις ἀντανοῖξαι τὰ ὄμματα δύναιτο, ἢ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι τοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἐκείνου πάθουσιν.

## XXXV

Ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ ἄλλη τίς ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφην, διαφορά· οὐ γὰρ μεγέθει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 20 πλήθει πολὺν λειπόμενος αὐτοῦ Λυσίας ὅμως πλείον ἔτι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι περιττεύει ἢ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς λείπεται. 2. τί ποτ' οὖν εἶδον οἱ ἰσόθεοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπορεζάμενοι τῆς συγγραφῆς, τῆς δ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀκριβείας ὑπερφρονήσαντες; πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι ἢ 25 φύσις οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῶον οὐδ' ἀγεννὲς ἔκρινε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς μεγάλην τινὰ πανήγυριν εἰς τὸν

2 ἐπίχαρις] Portus, ἐπιχαρῆς P. 3 Φρύνης] Schurzfleischius, φρυγίης P.  
6 καρδίῃ P. 7 ὑπερίδην P, ὑπερίδην m. rec. P. ἀναγινώσκων P.  
13 αὐτὸν (ἐ superscripto a m. rec.) P. κα\*λοῖς (λ ut videtur eraso) P.  
\* λ  
15 καταφέγγει] Manutius: καταφέγγη P, λ superscr. a m. rec., unde καταφλέγει  
Tollius Iahnus. 20 αὐτοῦ Λυσίας] Pearcius, ἀπουσίας P. ὅμως] Toupus,  
ὁ\* μὲν P. 23 ἐν|ἅπασιν P. 25 ἔ\*κρινε P.

the subject of it, and when he wishes to approach the region of charm, he is all the farther removed from it. If he had attempted to write the short speech about Phryne or about Athenogenes, he would have all the more commended Hyperides to our regard. 4. The good points of the latter, however, many though they be, are wanting in elevation; they are the staid utterances of a sober-hearted man and leave the hearer unmoved, no one feeling terror when he reads Hyperides. But Demosthenes draws—as from a store—excellences allied to the highest sublimity and perfected to the utmost, the tone of lofty speech, living passions, copiousness, readiness, speed (where it is legitimate), and that power and vehemence of his which forbid approach. Having, I say, absorbed bodily within himself these mighty gifts which we may deem heaven-sent (for it would not be right to term them *human*), he thus with the noble qualities which are his own routs all comers even where the qualities he does not possess are concerned, and overpowers with thunder and with lightning the orators of every age. One could sooner face with unflinching eyes a descending thunderbolt than meet with steady gaze his bursts of passion in their swift succession.

## XXXV

But in the case of Plato and Lysias there is, as I said, a further point of difference. For not only in the degree of his excellences, but also in their number, Lysias is much inferior to Plato; and at the same time he surpasses him in his faults still more than he falls below him in his excellences. 2. What fact, then, was before the eyes of those superhuman writers who, aiming at everything that was highest in composition, contemned an all-pervading accuracy? This besides many other things, that Nature has appointed us men to be no base or ignoble animals; but when she ushers us into

βίον καὶ εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐπάγουσα, θεατὰς  
 τινας τῶν ὄλων αὐτῆς ἐσομένους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἀγω-  
 νιστάς, εὐθὺς ἄμαχον ἔρωτα ἐνέφυσεν ἡμῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
 παντὸς αἰὲ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δαιμονιωτέρον.  
 5 3. διόπερ τῇ θέωρίᾳ καὶ διανοίᾳ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπι-  
 βολῆς οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἀρκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ  
 περιέχοντος πολλάκις ὄρους ἐκβαίνουσιν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι, καὶ 201<sup>r</sup>  
 εἴ τις περιβλέψαιτο ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν βίον, ὅσῳ πλέον ἔχει  
 τὸ περιττὸν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ μέγα καὶ καλόν, ταχέως εἴσεται,  
 10 πρὸς ᾧ γεγόναμεν. 4. ἔνθεν φυσικῶς πως ἀγόμενοι μὰ  
 Δί' οὐ τὰ μικρὰ ρεῖθρα θαυμάζομεν, εἰ καὶ διανγῇ καὶ  
 χρήσιμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ Ἰστρον ἢ Ῥῆνον, πολὺν  
 δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν Ὠκεανόν· οὐδέ γε τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τουτὶ  
 φλογίον ἀνακαιόμενον, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν σῶζει τὸ φέγγος,  
 15 ἐκπληττόμεθα τῶν οὐρανίων μᾶλλον, καίτοι πολλάκις  
 ἐπισκοτούμενων, οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς Αἵτης κρατήρων ἀξιο-  
 θαυμαστότερον νομίζομεν, ἧς αἱ ἀναχοαὶ πέτρους τε ἐκ  
 βυθοῦ καὶ ὄλους ὄχθους ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐνίοτε  
 τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου προχέουσιν πυρός.  
 20 5. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων ἐκείν' ἂν εἵποιμεν, ὡς  
 εὐπόριστον μὲν ἀνθρώποις τὸ χρειώδες ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον,  
 θαυμαστὸν δ' ὅμως αἰὲ τὸ παράδοξον.

## XXXVI

Οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ γε τῶν ἐν λόγοις μεγαλοφυῶν, ἐφ' ὧν  
 οὐκέτ' ἔξω τῆς χρείας καὶ ὠφελείας πίπτει τὸ μέγεθος,  
 25 προσήκει συνθεωρεῖν αὐτόθεν, ὅτι τοῦ ἀναμαρτήτου πολὺν  
 ἀφεστῶτες οἱ τηλικούτοι ὅμως πάντες εἰσὶν ἐπάνω τοῦ  
 θνητοῦ· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοὺς χρωμένους ἀνθρώπους  
 ἐλέγχει, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἐγγὺς αἶρει μεγαλοφροσύνης θεοῦ·

7 ἐκβαίνουσιν P. 10 γεγόναμεν P γεγόναμεν P. 11 εἰ] Faber, ἢ P.  
 14 σῶζει P. 19 γηγενοῦς] Marklandus, γένουσι P. 22 αἰεὶ P.  
 23 ἐπὶ (i corr. in ras.) P. 25 προσήκει P.

life and into the vast universe as into some great assembly, to be as it were spectators of the mighty whole and the keenest aspirants for honour, forthwith she implants in our souls the unconquerable love of whatever is elevated and more divine than we. 3. Wherefore not even the entire universe suffices for the thought and contemplation within the reach of the human mind, but our imaginations often pass beyond the bounds of space, and if we survey our life on every side and see how much more it everywhere abounds in what is striking, and great, and beautiful, we shall soon discern the purpose of our birth. 4. This is why, by a sort of natural impulse, we admire not the small streams, useful and pellucid though they be, but the Nile, the Danube or the Rhine, and still more the Ocean. Nor do we view the tiny flame of our own kindling (guarded in lasting purity as its light ever is) with greater awe than the celestial fires though they are often shrouded in darkness; nor do we deem it a greater marvel than the craters of Etna, whose eruptions throw up stones from its depths and great masses of rock, and at times pour forth rivers of that pure and unmixed subterranean fire. 5. In all such matters we may say that what is useful or necessary men regard as commonplace, while they reserve their admiration for that which is astounding.

## XXXVI

Now as regards the manifestations of the sublime in literature, in which grandeur is never, as it sometimes is in nature, found apart from utility and advantage, it is fitting to observe at once that, though writers of this magnitude are far removed from faultlessness, they none the less all rise above what is mortal; that all other qualities prove their possessors to be men, but sublimity raises them near the majesty of God; and that, while immunity from errors

καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄπταιστον οὐ ψέγεται, τὸ μέγα δὲ καὶ θαυμά-  
 ζεται. 2. τί χρὴ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι λέγειν, ὥς ἐκείνων  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἅπαντα τὰ σφάλματα ἐνὶ ἐξωνεῖται  
 πολλάκις ὕψει καὶ κατορθώματι, καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον, ὥς, εἴ  
 5 γε ἐκλέξας | τὰ Ὀμήρου, τὰ Δημοσθένους, τὰ Πλάτωνος, 201<sup>v</sup>  
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι δὴ μέγιστοι, παραπτώματα πάντα ὁμόσε  
 συναθροίσειεν, ἐλάχιστον ἂν τι, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδὲ πολλο-  
 στημόριον ἂν εὗρεθείη τῶν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἥρωσι πάντη  
 κατορθουμένων; διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ πᾶς αὐτοῖς αἰὼν καὶ βίος,  
 10 οὐ δυνάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου παρανοίας ἀλῶναι, φέρων  
 ἀπέδωκε τὰ νικητήρια καὶ ἄχρι νῦν ἀναφαίρετα φυλάττει  
 καὶ ἔοικε τηρήσειν,

ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέη, καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη.

3. πρὸς μέντοι γε τὸν γράφοντα, ὥς ὁ Κολοσσὸς ὁ ἡμαρ-  
 15 τημένος οὐ κρείττων ἢ ὁ Πολυκλείτου Δορυφόρος, παρά-  
 κειται πρὸς πολλοῖς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τέχνης θαυμάζεται  
 τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν ἔργων τὸ μέγεθος,  
 φύσει δὲ λογικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καπὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντων  
 ζητεῖται τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ὑπερ-  
 20 αἶρον, ὥς ἔφην, τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. 4. προσήκει δ' ὁμως  
 (ἀνακάμπει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑπομνήματος ἢ  
 παραίνεσις), ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν ἀδιάπτωτον ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺν  
 τέχνης ἐστὶ κατόρθωμα, τὸ δ' ἐν ὑπεροχῇ πλὴν οὐχ  
 ὁμότονον μεγολοφυΐας, βοήθημα τῇ φύσει πάντη πορί-  
 25 ζεσθαι τὴν τέχνην· ἢ γὰρ ἀλληλουχία τούτων ἴσως  
 γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ τέλειον.

Τοσαῦτα ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων ἐπι-  
 κρίναι σκεμμάτων· χαιρέτω δ' ἕκαστος οἷς ἤδεται.

7 ἐλάχιστο\* P ἐλάχιστον P. <sup>λ</sup>πολοστημόριον (λ superscripto a m. rec.) P.  
 24 πάντη] Tollius, παντὶ P.

relieves from censure, it is grandeur that excites admiration.

2. What need to add thereto that each of these supreme authors often redeems all his failures by a single sublime and happy touch, and (most important of all) that if one were to pick out and mass together the blunders of Homer, Demosthenes, Plato, and all the rest of the greatest writers, they would be found to be a very small part, nay an infinitesimal fraction, of the triumphs which those heroes achieve on every hand? This is the reason why the judgment of all posterity—a verdict which envy itself cannot convict of perversity—has brought and offered those meeds of victory which up to this day it guards intact and seems likely still to preserve,

Long as earth's waters shall flow, and her tall trees burgeon and bloom<sup>1</sup>.

3. In reply, however, to the writer who maintains that the faulty Colossus is not superior to the Spearman of Polycleitus, it is obvious to remark among many other things that in art the utmost exactitude is admired, grandeur in the works of nature; and that it is by nature that man is a being gifted with speech. In statues likeness to man is the quality required; in discourse we demand, as I said, that which transcends the human. 4. Nevertheless—and the counsel about to be given reverts to the beginning of our memoir—since freedom from failings is for the most part the successful result of art, and excellence (though it may be unevenly sustained) the result of sublimity, the employment of art is in every way a fitting aid to nature; for it is the conjunction of the two which tends to ensure perfection.

Such are the decisions to which we have felt bound to come with regard to the questions proposed; but let every man cherish the view which pleases him best.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Scr. Inc.* (6).



## XXXVII

Ταῖς δὲ μεταφοραῖς γειτνιώσιν (ἐπανιτέον γὰρ) αἱ  
 παραβολαὶ καὶ εἰκόνες, ἐκείνη μόνον παραλλάττουσαι...

DESUNT DVO FOLIA

## XXXVIII

... |στοι καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται· ‘εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν ταῖς 202<sup>r</sup>  
 πτέρναις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε.’ διόπερ εἰδέναι χρῆ  
 5 τὸ μέχρι ποῦ παροριστέον ἕκαστον· τὸ γὰρ ἐνίοτε περαι-  
 τέρω προεκπίπτειν ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 ὑπερτεινόμενα χαλᾶται, ἔσθ’ ὅτε δὲ καὶ εἰς ὑπεναντιώσεις  
 ἀντιπεριτίσταιται. 2. ὁ γοῦν Ἰσοκράτης οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως  
 παιδὸς πρᾶγμα ἔπαθεν διὰ τὴν τοῦ πάντα αὐξητικῶς  
 10 ἐθέλειν λέγειν φιλοτιμίαν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ  
 τοῦ Πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, ὡς ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις ταῖς εἰς  
 τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐεργεσίαις ὑπερβάλλει τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ ταῦτα τίθησιν· ‘ἔπειθ’ οἱ λόγοι  
 τοσαύτην ἔχουσι δύναμιν, ὥσθ’ οἷόν τ’ εἶναι καὶ τὰ  
 15 μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς περιθεῖναι μέ-  
 γεθος, καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καινῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ  
 γεγεννημένων ἀρχαίως διελθεῖν.’ οὐκοῦν, φησί τις, Ἰσό-  
 κρατες, οὕτως μέλλεις καὶ τὰ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
 Ἀθηναίων ἐναλλάττειν; σχεδὸν γὰρ τὸ τῶν λόγων ἐγκώ-  
 20 μιον ἀπιστίας τῆς καθ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀκούουσι παράγγελμα  
 καὶ προοίμιον ἐξέθηκε. 3. μήποτ’ οὖν ἄρισται τῶν  
 ὑπερβολῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σχημάτων προείπομεν, αἱ  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαλανθάνουσαι ὅτι εἰσὶν ὑπερβολαί. γίνεται  
 δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε, ἐπειδὰν ὑπὸ ἐκπαθείας μεγέθει τινὲ

2 ἐκείνη (ι addito a m. rec.) P. desunt folia IV et V quaternionis KΘ, sexti  
 folii vocabulum primum καταγέλαστοι esse conicit Dobraeus. 12 Λακε-

δαιμονίων] Robortellus, λακεδαιμονίαν P. 19 ἐναλλάττειν (λ superscripto a m.  
 rec.) P.

## XXXVII

Closely related to Metaphors (for we must return to our point) are comparisons and similes, differing only in this respect...

## XXXVIII

...such Hyperboles as: 'unless you carry your brains trodden down in your heels<sup>1</sup>.' It is necessary, therefore, to know where to fix the limit in each case; for an occasional overshooting of the mark ruins the hyperbole, and such expressions, when strained too much, lose their tension, and sometimes swing round and produce the contrary effect. 2. Isocrates, for example, fell into unaccountable puerility owing to the ambition which made him desire to describe everything with a touch of amplification. The theme of his *Panegyric* is that Athens surpasses Lacedaemon in benefits conferred upon Greece, and yet at the very outset of his speech he uses these words: 'Further, language has such capacity that it is possible thereby to debase things lofty and invest things small with grandeur, and to express old things in a new way, and to discourse in ancient fashion about what has newly happened<sup>2</sup>.' 'Do you then, Isocrates,' it may be asked, 'mean in that way to interchange the facts of Lacedaemonian and Athenian history?' For in his eulogy of language he has, we may say, published to his hearers a preamble warning them to distrust himself. 3. Perhaps, then, as we said in dealing with figures generally, those hyperboles are best in which the very fact that they are hyperboles escapes attention. This happens when, through stress of strong emotion, they are uttered in connexion with some great crisis, as is

<sup>1</sup> [Demosth.] *de Halonneso* 45.—App. C, *Demosthenes*.    <sup>2</sup> Isocr. *Paneg.* 8.

συνεκφωνῶνται περιστάσεως, ὅπερ ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἐπὶ τῶν  
ἐν Σικελίᾳ φθειρομένων ποιεῖ. ‘οἳ τε γὰρ Συρακούσιοι’  
φησὶν ‘ἐπικαταβάντες τοὺς | ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μάλιστα <sup>202<sup>v</sup></sup>  
ἔσφαζον, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εὐθὺς διέφθαρτο· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν  
5 ἐπίνετο ὁμοῦ τῷ πηλῷ ἡματωμένον καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτι  
ἦν περιμάχητον.’ αἷμα καὶ πηλὸν πινόμενα ὁμῶς εἶναι  
περιμάχητα ἔτι ποιεῖ πιστὸν ἢ τοῦ πάθους ὑπεροχὴ καὶ  
περίστασις. 4. καὶ τὸ ‘Ηροδότειον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Θερμο-  
πύλαις ὁμοιον. ‘ἐν τούτῳ’ φησὶν ‘ἀλεξομένους μαχαί-  
10 ρησιν, ὅσοις αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐτύγχανον περιούσαι, καὶ χερσὶ  
καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι.’ ἐνταῦθ’, οἷόν  
ἔστι τὸ καὶ στόμασι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀπλισμένους καὶ  
ὁποῖόν τι τὸ κατακεχῶσθαι βέλεσιν, ἐρεῖς, πλὴν ὁμοίως  
ἔχει πίστιν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔνεκα τῆς ὑπερβολῆς  
15 παραλαμβάνεσθαι δοκεῖ, ἢ ὑπερβολὴ δ’ εὐλόγως γεν-  
νᾶσθαι πρὸς τοῦ πράγματος. 5. ἔστι γάρ, ὥς οὐ δια-  
λείπω λέγων, παντὸς τολμήματος λεκτικοῦ λύσις καὶ  
πανάκειά τις τὰ ἐγγὺς ἐκστάσεως ἔργα καὶ πάθη· ὅθεν  
καὶ τὰ κωμικὰ καίτοιγ’ εἰς ἀπιστίαν ἐκπίπτοντα πιθανὰ  
20 διὰ τὸ γελοῖον·

ἀγρὸν ἔσχ’ ἐλάττω γῆν ἔχοντ’ ἐπιστολῆς.

καὶ γὰρ ὁ γέλως πάθος ἐν ἡδονῇ. 6. αἱ δ’ ὑπερβολαὶ  
καθάπερ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦλαττον, ἐπειδὴ  
κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἢ ἐπίτασις· καὶ πῶς ὁ διασυρμὸς ταπει-  
25 νότητός ἐστιν αὐξήσις.

### XXXIX

‘Ἡ πέμπτη μοῖρα τῶν συντελουσῶν εἰς τὸ ὕψος, ὧν  
γε ἐν ἀρχῇ προϋθέμεθα, ἔθ’ ἡμῖν λείπεται, κράτιστε,

8 ἡροδότειον P. 11 κατέχωσαν] codd. Herodoti, Manutius: κατίσχυσαν P.  
12 ὀπλι-σμένους P. 14 πρᾶγμα P. 15 εὐλόγως] Robortellus,  
εὐλόγους P. 18 πανάκειά P, πανάκειά m. rec. P. ἐκστάσεως] Portus,  
ἐξετάσεως P. 20 γέλοιον P. 21 ἔσχα P. ἔχοντ’ ἐπιστολῆς] Valcke-  
narius, ἔχον γὰρ στολῆς P. 27 κράτιστε\* P.

done by Thucydides in the case of those who perished in Sicily. 'The Syracusans,' he says, 'came down to the water's edge and began the slaughter of those chiefly who were in the river, and the water at once became polluted, but none the less it was swallowed although muddy and mixed with blood, and to most it was still worth fighting for<sup>1</sup>.' That a draught of blood and mud should still be worth fighting for, is rendered credible by the intensity of the emotion at a great crisis. 4. So with the passage in which Herodotus tells of those who fell at Thermopylae. 'On this spot,' he says, 'the barbarians buried them as they defended themselves with daggers—those of them who had daggers still left—and with hands and mouths<sup>2</sup>.' Here you may be inclined to protest against the expressions 'fight with their very mouths' against men in armour, and 'being buried' with darts. At the same time the narrative carries conviction; for the event does not seem to be introduced for the sake of the hyperbole, but the hyperbole to spring naturally from the event. 5. For (as I never cease to say) the deeds and passions which verge on transport are a sufficient lenitive and remedy for every audacity of speech. This is the reason why the quips of comedy, although they may be carried to the extreme of absurdity, are plausible because they are so amusing. For instance,

Smaller his field was than a Spartan letter<sup>3</sup>.

For mirth, too, is an emotion, an emotion which has its root in pleasure. 6. Hyperboles are employed in describing things small as well as great, since exaggeration is the common element in both cases. And, in a sense, ridicule is an amplification of the paltriness of things.

### XXXIX

The fifth of those elements contributing to the sublime which we mentioned, my excellent friend, at the beginning, still

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. VII. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. VII. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix C, *Scr. Inc.* (2).

ἢ διὰ τῶν λόγων αὐτὴ ποιὰ σύνθεσις. ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐν δυσὶν ἀποχρώντως ἀποδεδωκότες συντάγμασιν, ὅσα γὰρ τῆς θεωρίας | ἦν ἡμῖν ἐφικτά, τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἀνάγκης προσ- 203  
θείημεν ἂν εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ὥς οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ  
5 πειθοῦς καὶ ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀρμονία φυσικὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ μεγαληγορίας καὶ πάθους θαυμαστόν τι ὄργανον.  
2. οὐ γὰρ αὐλὸς μὲν ἐντίθησιν τινα πάθη τοῖς ἀκρω-  
μένοις καὶ οἷον ἔκφρονας καὶ κορυβαντισμοῦ πλήρεις  
ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ βάσιν ἐνδούς τινα ῥυθμοῦ πρὸς ταύτην  
10 ἀναγκάζει βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ συνεξομοιοῦσθαι τῷ  
μέλει τὸν ἀκροατὴν, καὶ ἄμουςος ἢ παντάπασιν, καὶ νῆ  
Δία φθόγγοι κιθάρας, οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς σημαίνοντες, ταῖς τῶν  
ἤχων μεταβολαῖς καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρούσει καὶ  
μίξει τῆς συμφωνίας θαυμαστὸν ἐπάγουσι πολλάκις, ὥς  
15 ἐπίστασαι, θέλγητρον 3. (καίτοι ταῦτα εἶδωλα καὶ μιμή-  
ματα νόθα ἐστὶ πειθοῦς, οὐχὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως, ὥς  
ἔφην, ἐνεργήματα γνήσια), οὐκ οἴομεθα δ' ἄρα τὴν σύν-  
θεσιν, ἀρμονίαν τινὰ οὖσαν λόγων ἀνθρώποις ἐμφύτων  
καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς, οὐχὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς μόνης ἐφαπτομένων,  
20 ποικίλας κινοῦσαν ιδέας ὀνομάτων νοήσεων πραγμάτων  
κάλλους εὐμελείας, πάντων ἡμῖν ἐντρόφων καὶ συγγενῶν,  
καὶ ἅμα τῇ μίξει καὶ πολυμορφίᾳ τῶν ἑαυτῆς φθόγγων τὸ  
παρεστὼς τῷ λέγοντι πάθος εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πέλας  
παρεισάγουσαν καὶ εἰς μετουσίαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀκούοντας  
25 αἰεὶ καθιστᾶσαν, τῇ τε τῶν λέξεων ἐποικοδομήσει τὰ  
μεγέθη συναρμόζουσιν, δι' αὐτῶν τούτων κηλεῖν τε ὁμοῦ,  
καὶ πρὸς ὄγκον τε καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ ὕψος καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐν

1 αὐτῇ] Spengelius, αὐτῇ P.

\*ἦσ P.

2 Σημ. περὶ συνθέσεως ἔγραψε

Διονύσιος in marg. P.

6 μεγαληγορίας] Tollius, μετ' ἐλευθερίας P.

7 ἐντίθησιν] Faber, ἐπιτίθησιν P.

ἀκροομένοις P ἀκροωμένοις P.

10 ἀναγ-

κάξει] Manutius, ἀναγκάσει P.

11 ἄμουςος ἢ] Boivinus, ἄλλους ὅση P.

12 σημαίνονταῖς (αἰ in ras. corr.: τες superscr. a m. rec.) P.

15 ἐπίστασαι]

Faber, ἐπίστασιν P.

ταῦτα] Morus, ταῦτα τὰ P.

18 ἐμφύτων]

Manutius, ἐμφύτωσ (ex ἐμφύτοις ut videtur) m. rec. P.

25 αἰεὶ P.

26 κηλεῖν] Robortellus, καλεῖν P.

remains to be dealt with, namely the arrangement of the words in a certain order. In regard to this, having already in two treatises sufficiently stated such results as our inquiry could compass, we will add, for the purpose of our present undertaking, only what is absolutely essential, namely the fact that harmonious arrangement is not only a natural source of persuasion and pleasure among men but also a wonderful instrument of lofty utterance and of passion. 2. For does not the flute instil certain emotions into its hearers and as it were make them beside themselves and full of frenzy, and supplying a rhythmical movement constrain the listener to move rhythmically in accordance therewith and to conform himself to the melody, although he may be utterly ignorant of music? Yes, and the tones of the harp, although in themselves they signify nothing at all, often cast a wonderful spell, as you know, over an audience by means of the variations of sounds, by their pulsation against one another, and by their mingling in concert. 3. And yet these are mere semblances and spurious copies of persuasion, not (as I have said) genuine activities of human nature. Are we not, then, to hold that composition (being a harmony of that language which is implanted by nature in man and which appeals not to the hearing only but to the soul itself), since it calls forth manifold shapes of words, thoughts, deeds, beauty, melody, all of them born at our birth and growing with our growth, and since by means of the blending and variation of its own tones it seeks to introduce into the minds of those who are present the emotion which affects the speaker and since it always brings the audience to share in it and by the building of phrase upon phrase raises a sublime and harmonious structure: are we not, I say, to hold that harmony by these selfsame means allures us and invariably disposes us to stateliness and dignity and

αὐτῇ περιλαμβάνει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκάσ|τοτε συνδιατιθέναι, 203<sup>v</sup>  
 παντοίως ἡμῶν τῆς διανοίας ἐπικρατοῦσαν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ  
 μανία τὸ περὶ τῶν οὕτως ὁμολογουμένων διαπορεῖν, ἀπο-  
 χρῶσα γὰρ ἢ πείρα πίστις, 4. ὑψηλὸν γέ που δοκεῖ νόημα  
 5 καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι θαυμάσιον, ὃ τῷ ψηφίσματι ὃ Δημο-  
 σθένης ἐπιφέρει· 'τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει  
 περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ νέφος.'  
 ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ πεφώ-  
 νηται· ὅλον τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν δακτυλικῶν εἴρηται ῥυθμῶν·  
 10 εὐγενέστατοι δ' οὗτοι καὶ μεγεθοποιοί, διὸ καὶ τὸ ἡρῶν,  
 ὧν ἴσμεν κάλλιστον, μέτρον συνιστᾶσι· τό τε\* ἐπείτοιγε  
 ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτὸ χώρας μετάθες, ὅποι δὴ ἐθέλεις, 'τοῦτο  
 τὸ ψήφισμα, ὥσπερ νέφος, ἐποίησε τὸν τότε κίνδυνον  
 παρελθεῖν,' ἢ νῆ Δία μίαν ἀπόκοψον συλλαβὴν μόνον  
 15 'ἐποίησε παρελθεῖν ὡς νέφος,' καὶ εἴση πόσον ἢ ἀρμονία  
 τῷ ὕψει συνηχεῖ. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ 'ὥσπερ νέφος' ἐπὶ  
 μακροῦ τοῦ πρώτου ῥυθμοῦ βέβηκε, τέτρασι καταμε-  
 τρουμένου χρόνοις· ἐξαιρεθείσης δὲ τῆς μιᾶς συλλαβῆς  
 'ὡς νέφος' εὐθὺς ἀκρωτηριάζει τῇ συγκοπῇ τὸ μέγεθος,  
 20 ὡς ἔμπαλιν, ἐὰν ἐπεκτείνῃς 'παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ  
 νέφος,' τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει, οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ ἔτι προσπίπτει,  
 ὅτι τῷ μήκει τῶν ἄκρων χρόνων συνεκλύεται καὶ διαχα-  
 λᾶται τὸ ὕψος τὸ ἀπότομον.

## XL

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα μεγεθοποιεῖ τὰ λεγόμενα, καθά-  
 25 περ τὰ σώματα, ἢ τῶν μελῶν ἐπισύνθεσις, ὧν ἐν μὲν  
 οὐδὲν τμηθὲν ἀφ' ἐτέρου καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀξιόλογον ἔχει, πάντα

1 αὐτῇ] Tollius, αὐτῇ P. 4 που δοκεῖ] Reiskius, τοῦ δοκεῖν P. 6 τότε]  
 codd. Demosthenis, Manutius: τότε' ἐν P. 11 Vide App. A. 17 κατα-  
 μετρούμενον] Tollius, καταμετρούμενον P. 19 τῇ συγκοπῇ] Robortellus, τῇ  
 συγκοπῇ P. 20 ὥσπερ] Tollius, ὥσπερ P. 21 οὐ τὸ\* P.

elevation and every emotion which it contains within itself, gaining absolute mastery over our minds? But it is folly to dispute concerning matters which are generally admitted, since experience is proof sufficient. 4. An example of a conception which is usually thought sublime and is really admirable is that which Demosthenes associates with the decree: 'This decree caused the danger which then beset the city to pass by just-as a cloud<sup>1</sup>.' But it owes its happy sound no less to the harmony than to the thought itself. For the thought is expressed throughout in dactylic rhythms, and these are most noble and productive of sublimity; and therefore it is that they constitute the heroic, the finest metre that we know. [And the order of the expression ὥσπερ νέφος is exactly right.] For if you derange the words of the sentence and transpose them in whatever way you will, as for example 'This decree just-as a cloud caused the danger of the time to pass by'; nay, if you cut off a single syllable only and say 'caused to pass by as a cloud,' you will perceive to what an extent harmony is in unison with sublimity. For the very words 'just-as a cloud' begin with a long rhythm, which consists of four metrical beats; but if one syllable is cut off and we read 'as a cloud,' we immediately maim the sublimity by the abbreviation. Conversely, if you elongate the word and write 'caused to pass by just-as-if a cloud,' it means the same thing, but no longer falls with the same effect upon the ear, inasmuch as the abrupt grandeur of the passage loses its energy and tension through the lengthening of the concluding syllables.

## XL

Among the chief causes of the sublime in speech, as in the structure of the human body, is the collocation of members, a single one of which if severed from another

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. *de Cor.* 188.



δὲ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐκπληροῖ τέλειον σύστημα, οὕτως τὰ  
 μεγά|λα, σκεδασθέντα μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἄλλοσ' ἄλλη ἅμα 204<sup>ε</sup>  
 ἑαυτοῖς συνδιαφορεῖ καὶ τὸ ὕψος, σωματοποιούμενα δὲ τῇ  
 κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἔτι δεσμῷ τῆς ἁρμονίας περικλειόμενα αὐτῷ  
 5 τῷ κύκλῳ φωνήεντα γίνεται· καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις  
 ἔρανος ἐστὶ πλήθους τὰ μεγέθη. 2. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γε  
 πολλοὶ καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν οὐκ ὄντες ὑψηλοὶ  
 φύσει, μήποτε δὲ καὶ ἀμεγέθεις, ὅμως κοινοῖς καὶ δημώ-  
 δεσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαγομένοις περιττὸν ὥς τὰ  
 10 πολλὰ συγχρώμειοι, διὰ μόνου τοῦ συνθεῖναι καὶ ἁρμόσαι  
 ταῦτα δ' ὅμως ὄγκον καὶ διάστημα καὶ τὸ μὴ ταπεινοὶ  
 δοκεῖν εἶναι περιεβάλλοντο, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ  
 Φίλιστος, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τισιν, ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις Εὐρι-  
 πίδης, ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν δεδήλωται. 3. μετὰ γέ τοι τὴν  
 15 τεκνοκτονίαν Ἡρακλῆς φησι,

γέμω κακῶν δὴ κούκέτ' ἔσθ' ὅποι τεθῇ.

σφόδρα δημῶδες τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ γέγονεν ὑψηλὸν τῇ  
 πλάσει ἀναλογοῦν, εἰ δ' ἄλλως αὐτὸ συναρμόσεις, φανή-  
 σεταιί σοι, διότι τῆς συνθέσεως ποιητῆς ὁ Εὐριπίδης  
 20 μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ νοῦ. 4. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συρομένης ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ταύρου Δίρκης,

εἰ δέ που τύχοι

πέριξ ἐλίξας, \* \* εἴλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβὼν

γυναῖκα πέτραν δρῦν μεταλλάσσω αἰεί,

25 ἔστι μὲν γενναῖον καὶ τὸ λῆμμα, ἀδρότερον δὲ γέγονε τῷ  
 τὴν ἁρμονίαν μὴ κατεσπεῦσθαι μὴδ' οἶον ἐν ἀποκυλί-  
 σματι φέρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ στηριγμούς τε ἔχειν πρὸς ἄλληλα  
 τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ ἐξερείσματα τῶν χρόνων πρὸς ἐδραῖον  
 διαβεβηκότα μέγεθος.

204<sup>ε</sup>

2 τὰ μά|λα sed in marg. τὰ μεγάλα P. ἄλλοσ' (superscripto a m. rec. ἄλλῃ)  
 P. 6 γε] Tollius, τε P. 16 καὶ οὐκ ἔτ' P. 18 συναρμόσ\*\*σ P συναρ-  
 μόσεις P. 20 ἐπὶ] Manutius, ἐπεὶ P. 23 ἐλίξας εἴλκε ὁμοῦ P, εἴλκεν  
 εἴλχ' conicit Adam. 25 λῆμμα] Robortellus, λῆ|μα P. 26 ἐν] Toupus,  
 μὲν P.

possesses in itself nothing remarkable, but all united together make a full and perfect organism. So the constituents of grandeur, when separated from one another, carry with them sublimity in distraction this way and that, but when formed into a body by association and when further encircled in a chain of harmony they become sonorous by their very rotundity; and in periods sublimity is, as it were, a contribution made by a multitude. 2. We have, however, sufficiently shown that many writers and poets who possess no natural sublimity and are perhaps even wanting in elevation have nevertheless, although employing for the most part common and popular words with no striking associations of their own, by merely joining and fitting these together, secured dignity and distinction and the appearance of freedom from meanness. Instances will be furnished by Philistus among many others, by Aristophanes in certain passages, by Euripides in most. 3. In the last-mentioned author, Heracles, after the scene in which he slays his children, uses the words:—

Full-fraught am I with woes—no space for more<sup>1</sup>.

The expression is a most ordinary one, but it has gained elevation through the aptness of the structure of the line. If you shape the sentence in a different way, you will see this plainly, the fact being that Euripides is a poet in virtue of his power of composition rather than of his invention. 4. In the passage which describes Dirce torn away by the bull:—

Whitherso'er he turned  
Swift wheeling round, he haled and hurled withal  
Dame, rock, oak, intershifted ceaselessly<sup>2</sup>,

the conception itself is a fine one, but it has been rendered more forcible by the fact that the harmony is not hurried or carried as it were on rollers, but the words act as buttresses for one another and find support in the pauses, and issue finally in a well-grounded sublimity.

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 1245.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C, *Euripides*.

## XLI

Μικροποιούν δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς, ὥς ῥυθμὸς  
 κεκλασμένος λόγων καὶ σεσοβημένος, οἷον δὴ πυρρίχιοι  
 καὶ τροχαῖοι καὶ διχόρειοι, τέλεον εἰς ὀρχηστικὸν συνεκ-  
 πίπτοντες· εὐθὺς γὰρ πάντα φαίνεται τὰ κατάρυθμα  
 5 κομψὰ καὶ μικροχαρῇ καὶ ἀπαθέστατα διὰ τῆς ὁμοειδίας  
 ἐπιπολάζοντα· 2. καὶ ἔτι τούτων τὸ χεῖριστον ὅτι, ὥσπερ  
 τὰ ῥῥαρία τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφέλκει καὶ  
 ἐφ' αὐτὰ βιάζεται, οὕτως καὶ τὰ κατερρυθμισμένα τῶν  
 λεγομένων οὐ τὸ τοῦ λόγου πάθος ἐνδίδωσι τοῖς ἀκούουσι,  
 10 τὸ δὲ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ, ὥς ἐνίοτε προειδόμενος τὰς ὀφειλομένας  
 καταλήξεις αὐτοὺς ὑποκρούειν τοῖς λέγουσι καὶ φθάνοντας  
 ὥς ἐν χορῶ τινι προαποδιδόναι τὴν βᾶσιν. 3. ὁμοίως δὲ  
 ἀμεγέθη καὶ τὰ λίαν συγκεείμενα καὶ εἰς μικρὰ καὶ βραχυ-  
 σύλλαβα συγκεκομμένα καὶ ὥσανεὶ γόμφους τισὶν ἐπαλ-  
 15 λήλοις κατ' ἐγκοπὰς καὶ σκληρότητας ἐπισυνδεδεμένα.

## XLII

Ἔτι γε μὴν ὕψους μειωτικὸν καὶ ἡ ἄγαν τῆς φράσεως  
 συγκοπή· πηροῖ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος, ὅταν εἰς λίαν συνάγηται  
 βραχύ· ἀκουέσθω δὲ νῦν μὴ τὰ δεόντως συνεστραμμένα,  
 ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀντικρὺς μικρὰ καὶ κατακεκερματισμένα· συγ-  
 20 κοπή μὲν γὰρ κολούει τὸν νοῦν, συντομία δ' ἐπ' εὐθύ,  
 δῆλον δ' ὥς ἔμπαλιν τὰ ἐκτάδην ἀπόψυχα· τὰ γὰρ  
 ἄκαιρον μῆκος ἀνακαλούμενα.

1 μικροποιούν P. 2 λόγων] Faber, λόγω P. Cp. p. 46. 27 supra.  
 3 διχόρειοι (o et i in ras.) P. 4 ὀρχηστικόν (χ in ras.) P. 5 ὁμοειδίας P.  
 6 ὅτι ὥσπερ] Manutius, ὅπως ὥσπερ P. 8 ἐπ' αὐτὰ P. 10 ῥυθμοῦ  
 (θ a m. rec.) P. 12 χορῶ P. 15 σκληρότητα P σκληρότητας P.  
 17 πηροῖ] Manutius, πληροῖ P. 18 μὴ τὰ δεόντως] Manutius, μὴ τὰ οὐ  
 δεόντως P. 20 κολούει] Faber, κωλύει P, κωλύει Robortellus.

## XLI

There is nothing in the sphere of the sublime, that is so lowering as broken and agitated movement of language, such as is characteristic of pyrrhics and trochees and dichorees, which fall altogether to the level of dance-music. For all over-rhythmical writing is at once felt to be affected and finical and wholly lacking in passion owing to the monotony of its superficial polish. 2. And the worst of it all is that, just as petty lays draw their hearer away from the point and compel his attention to themselves, so also over-rhythmical style does not communicate the feeling of the words but simply the feeling of the rhythm. Sometimes, indeed, the listeners knowing beforehand the due terminations stamp their feet in time with the speaker, and as in a dance give the right step in anticipation. 3. In like manner those words are destitute of sublimity which lie too close together, and are cut up into short and tiny syllables, and are held together as if with wooden bolts by sheer inequality and ruggedness.

## XLII

Further, excessive concision of expression tends to lower the sublime, since grandeur is marred when the thought is brought into too narrow a compass. Let this be understood not of proper compression, but of what is absolutely petty and cut into segments. For concision curtails the sense, but brevity goes straight to the mark. It is plain that, *vice versa*, prolixities are frigid, for so is everything that resorts to unseasonable length.

## XLIII

Δεινὴ δ' αἰσχῦναι τὰ μεγέθη καὶ ἡ μικρότης τῶν  
 ὀνομάτων. παρὰ γοῦν τῷ Ἡροδότῳ κατὰ μὲν τὰ λήμ-  
 ματα δαιμονίως ὁ χειμῶν πέφρασται, τινὰ δὲ νῆ Δία <sup>205</sup>  
 περιέχει τῆς ὕλης ἀδοξότερα, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως 'ζεσάσης  
 5 δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης,' ὥς τὸ 'ζεσάσης' πολὺ τὸ ὕψος περισπᾶ  
 διὰ τὸ κακόστομον· ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνεμος' φησὶν 'ἐκοπίασεν,'  
 καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ ναυάγιον δρασσομένους ἐξεδέχετο 'τέλος  
 ἀχάριστον.' ἄσεμνον γὰρ τὸ κοπιάσαι ἰδιωτικόν, τὸ δ'  
 ἀχάριστον τηλικούτου πάθους ἀνοίκειον. 2. ὁμοίως καὶ  
 10 ὁ Θεόπομπος ὑπερφυῶς σκευάσας τὴν τοῦ Πέρσου κατά-  
 βασιν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὀνοματίοις τισὶ τὰ ὅλα διέβαλεν.  
 'ποία γὰρ πόλις ἢ ποῖον ἔθνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ  
 ἐπρεσβεύετο πρὸς βασιλέα; τί δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς γεννω-  
 μένων ἢ τῶν κατὰ τέχνην ἐπιτελουμένων καλῶν ἢ τιμίων  
 15 οὐκ ἐκομίσθη δῶρον ὡς αὐτόν; οὐ πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ πολυ-  
 τελεῖς στρωμαὶ καὶ χλανίδες τὰ μὲν ἀλουργῇ, τὰ δὲ  
 ποικιλτά, τὰ δὲ λευκά, πολλαὶ δὲ σκηναὶ χρυσαὶ κατε-  
 σκευασμέναι πᾶσι τοῖς χρησίμοις, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ξυστίδες  
 καὶ κλῖναι πολυτελεῖς; ἔτι δὲ καὶ κοῖλος ἄργυρος καὶ  
 20 χρυσὸς ἀπειργασμένος καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ κρατήρες, ὧν  
 τοὺς μὲν λιθοκολλήτους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀκριβῶς καὶ  
 πολυτελῶς εἶδες ἂν ἐκπεπονημένους. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
 ἀναρίθμητοι μὲν ὄπλων μυριάδες τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν,  
 τῶν δὲ βαρβαρικῶν, ὑπερβάλλοντα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ὑποζύγια  
 25 καὶ πρὸς κατακοπὴν ἱερέα σιτευτά· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἄρτυ-  
 μάτων μέδιμνοι, πολλοὶ δ' οἱ θύλακοι καὶ σάκκοι καὶ  
 χάρται βυβλίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων χρησίων· |

1 αἰσχύνει P. 3 νῆ Δία] Manutius, γήδια P. 7 τέλος ἀχάριστον]  
 Robortellus, τέλος ἀχαριστί P, τέλος...ἀχαρι codd. Herodoti. 13 γενομένων P  
 γεννωμένων P. 14 τιμίων] Manutius, τιμῶν P. 15 ἐκομί\*σθη (σ a m. rec.) P.  
 16 στρωμαὶ P στρωμαὶ P. 17 κατασκευασμέναι P, corr. Manutius.  
 21 λιθο\*λλήτους P λιθοκολλήτους P. 25 σιτευτά] Canterus, εἰς ταῦτα P εἰς  
 ταῦτα Spengelius. 26 σάκοι P.

## XLIII

Triviality of expression is also apt to disfigure sublimity. In Herodotus, for example, the tempest is described with marvellous effect in all its details, but the passage surely contains some words below the dignity of the subject. The following may serve as an instance—‘when the sea seethed’<sup>1</sup>. The word ‘seethed’ detracts greatly from the sublimity because it is an ill-sounding one. Further, ‘the wind,’ he says, ‘grew fagged,’ and those who clung to the spars met ‘an unpleasant end’<sup>2</sup>. The expression ‘grew fagged’ is lacking in dignity, being vulgar; and the word ‘unpleasant’ is inappropriate to so great a disaster. 2. Similarly, when Theopompus had dressed out in marvellous fashion the descent of the Persian king upon Egypt, he spoilt the whole by some petty words. ‘For which of the cities (he says) or which of the tribes in Asia did not send envoys to the Great King? Which of the products of the earth or of the achievements of art was not, in all its beauty or preciousness, brought as an offering to his presence? Consider the multitude of costly coverlets and mantles, in purple or white or embroidery; the multitude of pavilions of gold furnished with all things useful; the multitude, too, of tapestries and costly couches. Further, gold and silver plate richly wrought, and goblets and mixing-bowls, some of which you might have seen set with precious stones, and others finished with care and at great price. In addition to all this, countless myriads of Greek and barbaric weapons, and beasts of burden beyond all reckoning and victims fattened for slaughter, and many bushels of condiments, and many bags and sacks and sheets of papyrus and all other useful things, and an equal number

<sup>1</sup> Herod. VII. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. VII. 191 and VIII. 13.

τοσαῦτα δὲ κρέα τεταριχευμένα παντοδαπῶν ἱερείων, ὡς <sup>205</sup>  
 σωροὺς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τηλικούτους, ὥστε τοὺς προσ-  
 ιόντας πόρρωθεν ὑπολαμβάνειν ὄχθους εἶναι καὶ λόφους  
 ἀντωθουμένους. 3. ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων εἰς τὰ ταπει-  
 5 νότερα ἀποδιδράσκει, δέον ποιήσασθαι τὴν αὖξισιν  
 ἔμπαλιν· ἀλλὰ τῇ θαυμαστῇ τῆς ὅλης παρασκευῆς ἀγγε-  
 λία παραμίξας τοὺς θυλάκους καὶ τὰ ἀρτύματα καὶ τὰ  
 σακκία μαγειρείου τινὰ φαντασίαν ἐποίησεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ  
 εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν προκοσμημάτων μεταξὺ τῶν  
 10 χρυσίων καὶ λιθοκολλήτων κρατήρων καὶ ἀργύρου κοίλου  
 σκηνῶν τε ὀλοχρύσων καὶ ἐκπωμάτων, φέρων μέσα  
 ἔθηκεν θυλάκια καὶ σακκία, ἀπρεπὲς ἂν ᾦν τῇ προσόψει  
 τὸ ἔργον· οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα  
 αἰσχυρὰ καὶ οἷον ἐστὶν γίγναται καθίσταται παρὰ καιρὸν  
 15 ἐγκαταταττόμενα. 4. παρέκειτο δ' ὡς ὀλοσχερῶς ἐπελ-  
 θεῖν καὶ ὡς ὄχθους λέγει συμβεβλήσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῆς  
 ἄλλης παρασκευῆς οὕτως ἀμάξας εἰπεῖν καὶ καμήλους καὶ  
 πλήθος ὑποζυγίων φορταγωγούντων πάντα τὰ πρὸς τρυφήν  
 καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τραπεζῶν χορηγήματα, ἣ σωροὺς ὀνο-  
 20 μάσαι παντοίων σπερμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄπερ διαφέρει πρὸς  
 ὀψοποιίας καὶ ἡδυπαθείας, ἣ εἴπερ πάντως ἐβούλετο αὐ-  
 τάρκη οὕτως θείναι, καὶ ὅσα τραπεζοκόμων εἰπεῖν καὶ  
 ὀψοποιῶν ἡδύσματα. 5. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ καταντᾶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ὕψεσιν εἰς τὰ ῥυπαρὰ καὶ ἐξυβρισμένα, | ἂν μὴ σφόδρα <sup>206</sup>  
 25 ὑπὸ τινος ἀνάγκης συνδιωκόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 πρέποι ἂν καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἔχειν ἀξίας καὶ μιμῆσθαι τὴν  
 δημιουργήσασαν φύσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἥτις ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ  
 μέρη τὰ ἀπόρρητα οὐκ ἔθηκεν ἐν προσώπῳ, οὐδὲ τὰ τοῦ

1 τοσαῦτα] Robortellus, τοιαῦτα P. 2 γένεσθαι P. 13 ἐρ\*\*\*\*\*ασ P  
 ἐρμηνείας P. 16 ὡς] Spengelius, ὅσ P. 17 ἀμάξας] Tourpius, ἀλλάξας P.  
 καὶ (ante καμήλους) add. Tourpius, om. P. 21 πάντως] Spengelius, πάντα ὡς P.  
 24 εἰς τὰ ῥυπαρὰ] Pearcius, \*\*\*\*\*παρὰ sex fere litteris propemodum deletis P.  
 26 ἀξίαν P, ἀξίαν m. rec. P. 27 δημιουργήσασαν P δημιουργήσασαν P. 28 ἐμ  
 (ante προσ.) sed corr. ἐν P.

of pieces of salted flesh from all manner of victims, so that the piles of them were so great that those who were approaching from a distance took them to be hills and eminences confronting them<sup>1</sup>. 3. He runs off from the more elevated to the more lowly, whereas he should, on the contrary, have risen higher and higher. With his wonderful description of the whole outfit he mixes bags and condiments and sacks, and conveys the impression of a confectioner's shop! For just as if, in the case of those very adornments, between the golden vessels and the jewelled mixing-bowls and the silver plate and the pavilions of pure gold and the goblets, a man were to bring and set in the midst paltry bags and sacks, the proceeding would have been offensive to the eye, so do such words when introduced out of season constitute deformities and as it were blots on the diction. 4. He might have described the scene in broad outline just as he says that hills blocked their way, and with regard to the preparations generally have spoken of 'waggon and camels and the multitude of beasts of burden carrying everything that ministers to the luxury and enjoyment of the table,' or have used some such expression as 'piles of all manner of grain and things which conduce preeminently to good cookery and comfort of body,' or if he must necessarily put it in so uncompromising a way, he might have said that 'all the dainties of cooks and caterers were there.' 5. In lofty passages we ought not to descend to sordid and contemptible language unless constrained by some overpowering necessity, but it is fitting that we should use words worthy of the subject and imitate nature the artificer of man, for she has not placed in full view our grosser parts or the means of purging our

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, *Theopompus*.



παντὸς ὄγκου περιηθήματα, ἀπεκρύψατο δὲ ὡς ἐνῆν καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς τούτων ὅτι πορρωτάτῳ ὀχετοὺς ἀπέστρεψεν, οὐδαμῇ κατασχύνασα τὸ τοῦ ὅλου ζῶον κάλλος.

- 5 6. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπ' εἶδους ἐπείγει τὰ μικροποιὰ διαριθμεῖν· προῦποδεδειγμένων γὰρ τῶν ὅσα εὐγενεῖς καὶ ὑψηλοὺς ἐργάζεται τοὺς λόγους, δῆλον ὡς τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ταπεινοὺς ποιήσει κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ ἀσχήμονας.

## XLIV

- 10 Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι λοιπὸν (ἔνεκα τῆς σῆς χρηστομαθείας οὐκ ὀκνήσομεν ἐπιπροσθεῖναι) διασαφῆσαι, Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε, ὅπερ ἐζήτησέ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων προσέναγχος, 'θαῦμά μ' ἔχει,' λέγων, 'ὡς ἀμέλει καὶ ἑτέρους πολλούς, πῶς ποτε κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον αἰῶνα πιθανὰ μὲν ἐπ' ἄκρον  
15 καὶ πολιτικά, δριμεῖαί τε καὶ ἐντρεχεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδονὰς λόγων εὐφοροί, ὑψηλαὶ δὲ λῖαν καὶ ὑπερμεγέθεις, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι σπάνιον, οὐκέτι γίνονται φύσεις. τοσαύτῃ λόγων κοσμικὴ τις ἐπέχει τὸν βίον ἀφορία. 2. ἡ νῆ Δί' ἔφη 'πιστευτέον ἐκείνῳ τῷ θρυλουμένῳ, ὡς ἡ δημο-  
20 κρατία τῶν μεγάλων ἀγαθὴ τιθηνός, ἥ μόνῃ σχεδὸν καὶ συνήκμασαν οἱ περὶ λόγους δεινοὶ καὶ συναπέθανον; θρέψαι τε γὰρ φησιν ἱκανὴ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν μεγαλοφρόνων ἢ ἐλευθερία καὶ | ἐπελπίσαι καὶ ἅμα διελθεῖν τὸ 206' πρόθυμον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ  
25 πρωτεῖα φιλοτιμίας. 3. ἔτι γε μὴν διὰ τὰ προκείμενα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἔπαθλα ἐκάστοτε τὰ ψυχικὰ προτερήματα τῶν ῥητόρων μελετώμενα ἀκονᾶται καὶ οἶον ἐκτρίβεται καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἐλεύθερα συνεκλάμπει.

1 περιηθήματα] Pearceius, περιθήματα P. 2 τούτων] codd. Xenophontis, Manutius: τῶν P. 3 κατασχύνασα (prius σ a m. rec.) P. 5 ἐπ' εἶδους] Τουπίου, ἐπιδοῦσ P. 11 ὀκνήσομεν P. ἐπιπροσθεῖναι Manutius, ἐπιπροσθῆναι P. 16 δὲ] Manutius, τε P. 26 ἐκάστοτε] Robertellus, ἐκάστος P. 28 πράγμασι (γ a m. rec.) P.

frame, but has hidden them away as far as was possible, and as Xenophon says has put their channels in the remotest background, so as not to sully the beauty of the entire creature. 6. But enough; there is no need to enumerate, one by one, the things which produce triviality. For since we have previously indicated those qualities which render style noble and lofty, it is evident that their opposites will for the most part make it low and base.

## XLIV

It remains however (as I will not hesitate to add, in recognition of your love of knowledge) to clear up, my dear Terentianus, a question which a certain philosopher has recently mooted. 'I wonder,' he says, 'as no doubt do many others, how it happens that in our time there are men who have the gift of persuasion to the utmost extent, and are well fitted for public life, and are keen and ready, and particularly rich in all the charms of language, yet there no longer arise really lofty and transcendent natures unless quite exceptionally. So great and world-wide a dearth of high utterance attends our age.' 2. 'Can it be,' he continued, 'that we are to accept the trite explanation that democracy is the kind nursing-mother of genius, and that literary power may be said to share its rise and fall with democracy and democracy alone? For freedom, it is said, has power to feed the imaginations of the lofty-minded and to inspire hope, and where it prevails there spreads abroad the eagerness of mutual rivalry and the emulous pursuit of the foremost place. 3. Moreover, owing to the prizes which are open to all under popular government, the mental excellences of the orator are continually exercised and sharpened, and as it were rubbed bright, and shine forth (as it is natural they should) with all the freedom which inspires the doings of the state. To-day,'

οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐοίκαμεν' ἔφη 'παιδομαθεῖς εἶναι δουλείας  
δικαίας, τοῖς αὐτῆς ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν  
ἔτι φρονημάτων μόνον οὐκ ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι καὶ ἄγε-  
στοι καλλίστου καὶ γονιμωτάτου λόγων νάματος, τὴν  
5 ἐλευθερίαν' ἔφη 'λέγω, διόπερ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κόλακες ἐκ-  
βαίνομεν μεγαλοφυεῖς.' 4. διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔξεις  
καὶ εἰς οἰκέτας πίπτειν ἔφασκεν, δοῦλον δὲ μηδένα γίνε-  
σθαι ῥήτορα· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀναζεῖ τὸ ἀπαρρησίαστον καὶ  
οἶον ἔμφρουρον ὑπὸ συνηθείας ἀεὶ κεκονδυλισμένον·  
10 5. 'ἦμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς' κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον 'ἀποαίνυνται  
δούλιον ἡμαρ.' 'ὥσπερ οὖν, εἴ γε' φησὶ 'τοῦτο πιστὸν  
ἀκούω, τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι δὲ  
νᾶνοι τρέφονται, οὐ μόνον κωλύει τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων τὰς  
αὐξήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναραιοῖ διὰ τὸν περικείμενον τοῖς  
15 σώμασι δεσμόν· οὕτως ἅπασαν δουλείαν, καὶ ἥ δικαιο-  
τάτη, ψυχῆς γλωττόκομον καὶ κοινὸν δὴ τις ἀπεφήνατο  
δεσμωτήριον.' 6. ἐγὼ μέντοι γε ὑπολαμβάνων 'ῥάδιον',  
ἔφην, 'ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου τὸ καταμέμφεσθαι  
τὰ ἀεὶ παρόντα· ὅρα δέ, μή ποτε οὐχ ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης  
20 εἰρήνη διαφθείρει τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις, πολλὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ 207<sup>ε</sup>  
κατέχων ἡμῶν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπεριόριστος οὕτοσιν πόλε-  
μος καὶ νῆ Δία πρὸς τοῦτω τὰ φρουροῦντα τὸν νῦν βίον  
καὶ κατ' ἄκρας ἄγοντα καὶ φέροντα ταυτὶ πάθη. ἡ γὰρ  
φιλοχρηματία, πρὸς ἣν ἅπαντες ἀπλήστως ἤδη νοσοῦμεν,  
25 καὶ ἡ φιληδονία δουλαγωγοῦσι, μᾶλλον δέ, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις,  
καταβυθίζουσιν αὐτάνδρους ἤδη τοὺς βίους, φιλαργυρία

2 αὐτοῖς, P αὐτῆς m. rec. P. 4 γονιμωτάτου P. 11 δούλιον P, ei  
superscripto a m. rec. πιστόν ἐστιν P, ἐστιν del. Pearcius, δ add. Pearcius.  
12 ἐν|\*οἷς (ν a m. rec.) P. 13 νᾶνοι] Manutius, νάοι P. 14 συναραιοῖ]  
Schmidius, συνάροι P. 15 σώμασι] Scaliger, στόμασι P. 16 ἀποφῆνετο  
(ai superscr. a m. rec.) P. 17 ὑπολαμβάνων] Tollius, ὑπολαμβάνω P.  
18 ἔφην] Portus, ἔφη P. ἴδιο P: inter compingendum librum ut videtur  
evanuit littera postrema. καταμέμφε|σθαι (deletas litteras αταμέμφ restituit m.  
rec.) P. 19 μή ποτε οὐχ ἡ τῆς] Spengelius, μή|πο\*\*\*\*χ η\*\*\* (τῆς addito in  
ras. a m. rec.) P. 25 δουλαγωγοῦσι P δουλαγωγοῦσι P.

he went on, 'we seem in our boyhood to learn the lessons of a righteous servitude, being all but enswathed in its customs and observances, when our thoughts are yet young and tender, and never tasting the fairest and most productive source of eloquence (by which,' he added, 'I mean freedom), so that we emerge in no other guise than that of sublime flatterers.'

4. This is the reason, he maintained, why no slave ever becomes an orator, although all other faculties may belong to menials. In the slave there immediately burst out signs of fettered liberty of speech, of the dungeon as it were, of a man habituated to buffetings.. 5. 'For the day of slavery,' as Homer has it, 'takes away half our manhood!.' 'Just as,' he proceeded, 'the cages (if what I hear is true) in which are kept the Pygmies, commonly called *nani*, not only hinder the growth of the creatures confined within them, but actually attenuate them through the bonds which beset their bodies, so one has aptly termed all servitude (though it be most righteous) the cage of the soul and a public prison-house.'

6. I answered him thus: 'It is easy, my good sir, and characteristic of human nature, to find fault with the age in which one lives. But consider whether it may not be true that it is not the world's peace that ruins great natures, but far rather this war illimitable which holds our desires in its grasp, aye, and further still those passions which occupy as with troops our present age and utterly harry and plunder it. For the love of money (a disease from which we all now suffer sorely) and the love of pleasure make us their thralls, or rather, as one may say, drown us body and soul in the depths, the love of riches being a malady which makes men petty,

<sup>1</sup> *Odys.* XVII. 322.

μὲν νόσημα μικροποιόν, φιληδονία δ' ἀγεννέστατον.  
 7. οὐ δὴ ἔχω λογιζόμενός εὐρεῖν, ὥς οἶόν τε πλούτου  
 ἀόριστον ἐκτιμήσαντας, τὸ δ' ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἐκθειά-  
 σαντας, τὰ συμφυῇ τούτῳ κακὰ εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν  
 5 ἐπεισιόντα μὴ παραδέχεσθαι. ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ ἀμέτρῳ  
 πλούτῳ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ συνημμένη καὶ ἴσα, φασί, βαί-  
 νουσα πολυτέλεια, καὶ ἅμα ἀνοίγοντος ἐκείνου τῶν πόλεων  
 καὶ οἰκῶν τὰς εἰσόδους εὐθὺς ἐμβαίνει καὶ συνοικίζεται.  
 χρονίσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βίοις νεοττοποιεῖται, κατὰ  
 10 τοὺς σοφοὺς, καὶ ταχέως γενόμενα περὶ τεκνοποιῖαν ἀλα-  
 ζονείαν τε γεννῶσι καὶ τύφον καὶ τρυφὴν οὐ νόθα ἑαυτῶν  
 γεννήματα ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γνήσια. ἔαν δὲ καὶ τούτους  
 τις τοῦ πλούτου τοὺς ἐκγόνους εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐάσῃ,  
 ταχέως δεσπότης ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουςιν ἀπαραιτήτους,  
 15 ὕβριν καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν. 8. ταῦτα γὰρ  
 οὕτως ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνα-  
 βλέπειν μηδ' ἔτερα φήμης εἶναί τινα λόγον, ἀλλὰ τοιούτων  
 ἐν κύκλῳ τελεσιουργεῖσθαι κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν τῶν βίων  
 διαφθοράν, φθίνειν δὲ καὶ καταμαραίνεσθαι τὰ ψυχικὰ 207  
 20 μεγέθη, καὶ ἄζηλα γίνεσθαι, ἥνίκα τὰ θνητὰ ἑαυτῶν μέρη  
 ἐκθανμάζοιεν, παρέντες αὖξιν τὰ θάνατα. 9. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 κρίσει μὲν τις δεκασθεὶς οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ  
 καλῶν ἐλεύθερος καὶ ὑγιὴς ἂν κριτὴς γένοιτο· ἀνάγκη  
 γὰρ τῷ δωροδόκῳ τὰ οἰκεία μὲν φαίνεσθαι καλὰ καὶ  
 25 δίκαια· ὅπου δὲ ἡμῶν ἐκάστου τοὺς ὅλους ἤδη βίους  
 δεκασμοὶ βραβεύουσι καὶ ἀλλοτρίων θῆραι θανάτων καὶ

1 ἀγενέστατον P. 3 ἀλιθέστερον P ἀληθέστερον P. 4 εἰ|\*ἄσ P, εἰσ|τἄσ  
 m. rec. P. 6 βαίνουσα (β corr. ex μ) P. 7 καὶ ἅμα] Percius, καὶ ἄλλα P.  
 8 οἶκον P οἰκῶν P. εὐθὺς] Mathewsus, εἰς ἄς P. post εἰς ἄς supplet  
 ἐκεῖνος οἰκίας Vahlenus. 10 ἀλαζονείαν τε] Is. Vossius: ἀνάλεξον ἐν αντι

(ἐντι a m. rec.; in marg. γρ ἐν αντι) P. 11 γεννῶσα (σι superscr. a m. rec.) P.  
 12 τούτους] Tollius, τούτου P. 15 ὕβριν P. π\*\*\*νομίαν P. 20 καπνητὰ  
 post μέρη praebeet P quod ut ex proximis ἡνίκατὰ θνητὰ perperam repetitum Vahlenus  
 delendum esse censet. 21 τὰ θάνατα] Percius, τὰς|άνατα P. ἐπικρί\*σει P.  
 22 δεκασθεὶς] Manutius, δεκασθεῖς P. 24 τὸ (in τω a m. rec. corr.) P.

and the love of pleasure one which makes them most ignoble.

7. On reflexion I cannot discover how it is possible for us, if we value boundless wealth so highly, or (to speak more truly) deify it, to avoid allowing the entrance into our souls of the evils which are inseparable from it. For vast and unchecked wealth is accompanied, in close conjunction and step for step as they say, by extravagance, and as soon as the former opens the gates of cities and houses, the latter immediately enters and abides. And when time has passed the pair build nests in the lives of men, as the wise say, and quickly give themselves to the rearing of offspring, and breed ostentation, and vanity, and luxury, no spurious progeny of theirs, but only too legitimate. If these children of wealth are permitted to come to maturity, straightway they beget in the soul inexorable masters—insolence, and lawlessness, and shamelessness. 8. This must necessarily happen, and men will no longer lift up their eyes or have any further regard for fame, but the ruin of such lives will gradually reach its complete consummation and sublimities of soul fade and wither away and become contemptible, when men are lost in admiration of their own mortal parts and omit to exalt that which is immortal. 9. For a man who has once accepted a bribe for a judicial decision cannot be an unbiassed and upright judge of what is just and honourable (since to the man who is venal his own interests must seem honourable and just), and the same is true where the entire life of each of us is ordered by bribes, and huntings after the death of

ἐνέδραι διαθηκῶν, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς κερδαίνειν ὠνού-  
 μεθα τῆς ψυχῆς ἕκαστος πρὸς τῆς \* ἡνδραποδισμένοι, ἄρα  
 δὴ ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ λοιμικῇ τοῦ βίου διαφθορᾷ δοκοῦμεν  
 ἔτι ἐλεύθερόν τινα κριτὴν τῶν μεγάλων ἢ διηκόντων  
 5 πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα καδέκαστον ἀπολελεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ κατ-  
 αρχαιρεσιάζεσθαι πρὸς τῆς τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας;  
 10. ἀλλὰ μήποτε τοιούτοις οἰοί περ ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, ἄμεινον  
 ἄρχεσθαι ἢ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι· ἐπεΐτοιγε ἀφεθείσαι τὸ  
 σύνολον, ὥς ἐξ εἰρκτῆς ἄφεται, κατὰ τῶν πλησίον αἰ  
 10 πλεονεξίαι καὶ ἐπικαύσειαν τοῖς κακοῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην.  
 11. ὅλως δὲ δαπανῶν ἔφην εἶναι τῶν νῦν γεννωμένων  
 φύσεων τὴν ῥαθυμίαν, ἣ πλὴν ὀλίγων πάντες ἐγκατα-  
 βιοῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλως πονοῦντες ἢ ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰ μὴ  
 ἐπαίνου καὶ ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς ζήλου καὶ τιμῆς  
 15 ἀξίας ποτὲ ὠφελείας. 12. κράτιστον εἰκὴ ταῦτ' ἔαν, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τὰ συνεχῇ χωρεῖν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα τὰ πάθη, περὶ ὧν ἐν  
 ἰδίῳ προηγουμένως ὑπεσχόμεθα γράψειν ὑπομνήματι,  
 τὴν τε τοῦ ἄλλου λόγου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὕψους μοῖραν  
 ἐπεχόντων, ὥς ἡμῖν [δοκεῖ..]

1 ἐνέδραι P. 2 πρὸς τῆς P, πρὸς τῆς\* Robortellus. Vide Append. A.  
 ἄρα P. 4 μεγάλων ἢ] Robortellus, μεγάλων ἢ μεγάλων ἢ P. 5 αἰῶνα  
 Portus, ἀγῶνα P. καδέκαστον] unus ex libris Vaticanis, καθέκαστον P. μὴ]  
 Manutius, μοι P. 9 πλησίον P πλησίον P. 12 ἢ] Manutius, οὐ P, οὐ  
 Robortellus. 16 ἐν ἰδίῳ—19 ἡμῖν addidit m. rec. in P, consentientibus  
 libris deterioribus. 19 δοκεῖ add. Robortellus.

others, and the laying of ambushes for legacies, while gain from any and every source we purchase—each one of us—at the price of life itself, being the slaves of pleasure. In an age which is ravaged by plagues so sore, is it possible for us to imagine that there is still left an unbiassed and incorruptible judge of works that are great and likely to reach posterity, or is it not rather the case that all are influenced in their decisions by the passion for gain? 10. Nay, it is perhaps better for men like ourselves to be ruled than to be free, since our appetites, if let loose without restraint upon our neighbours like beasts from a cage, would set the world on fire with deeds of evil. 11. Summing up, I maintained that among the banes of the natures which our age produces must be reckoned that half-heartedness in which the life of all of us with few exceptions is passed, for we do not labour or exert ourselves except for the sake of praise and pleasure, never for those solid benefits which are a worthy object of our own efforts and the respect of others. 12. But 'tis best to leave these riddles unresolved<sup>1</sup>, and to proceed to what next presents itself, namely the subject of the Passions, about which I previously undertook to write in a separate treatise. These form, as it seems to me, a material part of discourse generally and of the Sublime itself.

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Electra* 379.





## APPENDICES.

### APPENDIX A.

#### TEXTUAL. WITH CRITICAL NOTES.

In the Appendices and Indices reference is sometimes made to pages (e.g. 17) or to pages and lines (e.g. 96. 12), at other times to chapters (e.g. ii.) or to chapters and sections (e.g. xii. 2).

The known manuscripts of the *De Sublimitate* are eleven in number, of which four are preserved at Paris, three at Rome, one at Milan, one at Venice, one at Florence, and one at Cambridge. Their designations are as follows :

1. **Codex Parisinus s. Parisiensis 2036.** Tenth Century. By far the oldest and the best. Detailed particulars with regard to it, in itself and in its relation to the rest, will be given later. Here it need only be said that, in the textual criticism of the *De Sublimitate*, this codex deserves even a higher position than that occupied in their respective spheres by three other remarkable Paris manuscripts, that of the *Poetics* of Aristotle (A<sup>e</sup>), that of the *Republic* of Plato (A), and that of Demosthenes (S).

2. **Codex Parisinus 985.** Fifteenth Century. Only extends as far as the word *θεωρίαν* in c. ii. 3. The opening sections of the *περὶ ὕψους* are interpolated, as it were, in the text of the *Problems* of Aristotle, to which work a large part of this miscellaneous codex is devoted. As this case is only one of several in which the *περὶ ὕψους* is grouped with the *Problems*, there is just a possibility that fragments of the former may yet be discovered in manuscripts of the latter.

3. **Codex Parisinus 2960.** Fifteenth Century. Contains (in addition to the *περὶ ψυχῆς*) some orations of Dion Chrysostom and of Themistius, together with the *Ars Rhetorica* of Hermogenes and some *Problemata Rhetorica*. Part at least of this manuscript was written in the year 1491, the date being given.

4. **Codex Parisinus 2974.** Sixteenth Century. Consists of the *περὶ ψυχῆς* alone.—Manuscripts 3 and 4, as well as 1 and 2, are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The present editor has examined all the Paris manuscripts and has carefully re-collated P 2036.

5. **Codex Vaticanus 285.** Fifteenth Century. A fragment, agreeing with Parisinus 985, from which it is supposed to have been transcribed.

6. **Codex Vaticanus 194.** Fifteenth or Sixteenth Century.

7. **Codex Vaticanus 1417.** Fifteenth or Sixteenth Century. 6 and 7 are carelessly written manuscripts, copied probably from dictation.

8. **Codex Mediolanensis s. Ambrosianus.** Fifteenth or Sixteenth Century. In the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan.

9. **Codex Venetus s. Marcianus.** Fifteenth Century. In the Biblioteca Nazionale di San Marco at Venice.

10. **Codex Florentinus s. Laurentianus.** Fifteenth or Sixteenth Century. In the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana at Florence.—These three manuscripts (8, 9, and 10) possess no distinctive features of importance. It is probable that the Venetus was used by Manutius in the preparation of his edition.

11. **Codex Eliensis s. Cantabrigiensis.** Sixteenth Century. In the University Library at Cambridge. Continental scholars have often expressed curiosity and some expectancy with regard to this manuscript. Upon examination, however, it is found to have no independent value. Its worth and character are discussed in the *Classical Review* xii. pp. 299—301. Its chief interest lies in two facts: (*a*) it stands in close relation to the two first editions of the treatise, viz. those of Robortello and Manutius; (*b*) in the margin it has some interesting Italian notes. There are four of these: (1) *tutto questo è confusamente preso da Platone* (xxxii. 5); (2) *tutto questo dubito che sia stato trasportato dal margine nel testo, et che sia giudizio di qualch' uno che biasima Longino, perchè da tante lodi a Hyperide*

(xxxiv. 3); (3) *in Herodoto non si leggono così continuate queste parole* (xliii. 1); (4) *qui manca perauentura qualche voce significativa altro uitio che seguita le gran ricchezze, et poi uien dietro καὶ ἄλλα* (xliv. 7).

Mr H. J. Edwards (of Trinity and Selwyn Colleges, Cambridge) some years ago made a complete collation of this manuscript,—a collation which he has with great kindness permitted the present editor to consult. For critical purposes the manuscript, when it comes into comparison with P 2036, occupies (like the rest of the later manuscripts) a strictly subordinate position. It has, however, been cited in the critical footnotes once or twice when it gives a reading attributed hitherto to Robortello. Mr Edwards believes that the date of the Cod. El. lies somewhere between 1525 and 1560 A.D., and that the evidence (especially that furnished by the water-mark) is rather in favour of the earlier portion of these 35 years.

To the eleven manuscripts just enumerated a twelfth is sometimes added:—

**12. Codex Dudithianus s. Junianus.** But it is possible that this manuscript, whose place of preservation is unknown, is identical with the Codex Eliensis. Cp. *Classical Review* xii. 301.

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While the other manuscripts may be dismissed with a bare mention, P 2036 claims minute attention as the paramount authority in the constitution of the text.

P 2036 is a minuscule manuscript; and among minuscule manuscripts it may, in virtue of its early date, be classed as one of the *codices vetustissimi*. M. Henri Omont, who assigns it to the tenth century, has given the following description of it: 'MS. grec 2036 (*Regius* 3083). Parchemin. 207 feuillets. 195 sur 152 millimètres. Reliure aux armes et chiffre de Henri IV. Provient de J. Lascaris, du cardinal Nicolas Ridolfi, puis de Catherine de Médicis<sup>1</sup>. It was, thus, preserved at Florence, before it came to Paris in the year 1599.

<sup>1</sup> Henri Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens manuscrits grecs en onciale et en minuscule de la Bibliothèque Nationale du iv<sup>e</sup> au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Planche xxxi. Paris, 1892.—It may be added here that in P 2036 the scribe writes *below* the guiding-line; a practice which was introduced in the tenth century. In minuscule manuscripts of the ninth century the writing is found above the line.

The first and larger part (fol. 1—178<sup>v</sup>) of the manuscript is occupied by Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικὰ προβλήματα, which work is followed by the περὶ ψυχῆς. The portion which contains the περὶ ψυχῆς consisted of seven quaternions, which are signed (by a later hand) ΚΔ. [ΚΕ is wanting.] ΚΣ. ΚΖ. ΚΗ. ΚΘ. Λ. The gaps in the treatise have been noted in the text as they occur. The portions missing in the various quaternions are as follows: fol. iv. and v. in ΚΔ, the whole of ΚΕ (though fol. i. and fol. viii. are preserved elsewhere), fol. iv. and v. in ΚΣ, fol. iv. and v. in ΚΖ, fol. iii., iv., v. and vi. in ΚΗ, fol. iv. and v. in ΚΘ. Of Λ (the last quaternion) the three first folia are preserved.

The total loss suffered by P may be estimated (without taking the conclusion of the treatise into account) as follows:—

First lacuna (c. ii.)	= 2 folia, viz. about 100 lines.
Second „ (c. viii.)	= 8 „ „ 400 „
Third „ (c. xii.)	= 2 „ „ 100 „
Fourth „ (c. xviii.)	= 2 „ „ 100 „
Fifth „ (c. xxx.)	= 4 „ „ 200 „
Sixth „ (c. xxxvii.)	= 2 „ „ 100 „
	<hr/>
	20 folia. 1000 lines.

Thus P has lost some 20 folia, or about 1000 lines. As the number of folia actually preserved may be given as 30, it follows that more than one-third of the treatise has disappeared from P.

The fact that these lacunae exist not only in P but in all the later manuscripts first suggested the conclusion, now generally adopted, that P is the original from which the rest have been derived<sup>1</sup>. It is true that for a few supplementary words or pages (already noted in the critical apparatus) we are indebted to the later manuscripts. But there is every reason to believe that these portions were derived, directly or indirectly, from P at a date anterior to the year 1568, by which time it is known to have reached its present state. The cause of loss has probably been careless preservation of the leaves before they were bound, and then equally careless binding. At the end of the treatise, for instance, it is likely that the binder

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that M. Raoul Pessonneaux (*Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, v. 3 p. 303) declares against the contrary view maintained many years ago by Émile Egger.

sacrificed a mutilated leaf, but before so doing transcribed, at the bottom of the previous leaf, the three top lines which he found to be still legible. Some lines at the end of chapter ii. have also been sacrificed in the binding, but not before they had been copied in other manuscripts. Something similar has happened in the case of the two outer leaves now represented by parts of chapters viii. and ix. These parts would seem to have been transcribed from P, before the two outer leaves became detached and disappeared in the same way as the six inner leaves.

It is in the filling up of the gaps just mentioned that the secondary manuscripts are of most service. Over and above this, they occasionally—very occasionally—furnish a better reading in the parts common to them and P. But there is no reason to suppose that such readings (examples of which will be found on pp. 48. 2, 100. 21, 108. 8, 160. 5) are other than more or less obvious conjectures on the part of the copyists who transcribed the manuscripts or of the scholars who used them. On the other side, the inferior manuscripts are disfigured by errors, sometimes of a gross description; but of these it would serve no useful purpose to accumulate instances. The readings selected from them by Weiske and Vaucher, and by still earlier editors, are enough to show their true character.

The antiquity of P was recognised several centuries ago by the distinguished scholar Petrus Victorius; and this fact makes it only the more remarkable that the long line of editors since his time should not have paid more systematic deference to it. Petrus Victorius (Pietro Vettori, 1499—1584 A.D.) refers to the manuscript as 'liber antiquissimus'.<sup>1</sup> It was by using Victorius' collation (made while the manuscript was still at Florence, and now preserved in a copy of Robortello's edition to be found in the Munich Library) that Spengel nearly three centuries later first gave something like its due weight to the authority of P in the constitution of the text (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 1; Leipzig, 1853). A fresh collation of P, made by Vahlen in 1861, was used by Jahn in his edition of 1867. The present editor has examined the manuscript at Paris in two successive years (1897 and 1898), and has endeavoured to add to the completeness and correctness of previous collations.

<sup>1</sup> *Variarum Lectionum Libri xxxviii.* p. 331. (In the edition of 1582; the first edition of this portion of his work appeared at Florence in 1569.)

While due credit is given to the Italian scholar Vettori for discerning the antiquity of P and to the German scholar Spengel for making full use of it in an edition, it should also be remembered that the French scholar Boivin (1663—1726) was the first to show, from an examination of the gaps in it, that it was not only the oldest codex, but in all probability also the archetype of all existing manuscripts of the treatise. It now only remains in a new presentation of the text to bring more clearly into relief than previous editors have done the general character and excellence of P,—to treat it, in fact, as the premier manuscript of any author should be treated. In the present edition, therefore, all deviations—however minute—from P have been entered in the critical footnotes, where even the erasures are indicated (according to Vahlen's notation) by means of asterisks. It appears to the editor that the vast array of conjectural emendations found beneath Jahn-Vahlen's text (1887) creates an utterly false impression of general unsoundness and uncertainty. A few *loci desperati* there no doubt are; but, taken as a whole, the text offered by P is good and trustworthy. For a critical examination of some conjectural emendations by distinguished scholars reference may be made to the following pages. Here it is enough to record all the readings of P and to estimate the value of the manuscript. To the unpractised eye the rejected readings may, like the conjectural emendations already mentioned, give rise to a feeling of uncertainty; but at this stage in the history of the printed text it is, nevertheless, best to record them in full. A later and more fortunate editor may find it in his power to keep his list both of unaccepted conjectures and of unaccepted manuscript readings within a very narrow compass. The task of the moment is to sustain, and if possible enhance, the credit of P by the only true method, namely, the full disclosure of its weaknesses as well as of its strength.

The patent errors of P are, as a glance at the critical footnotes will show, of the mechanical order. They are the offspring of carelessness or mental slowness, rather than of that vexatious cleverness which is not content to transcribe but must improve. The bad blunders are few relatively to the difficulty of the subject-matter. The scribe's spelling (that excellent criterion of the value of manuscripts) is, on the whole, good. He does not indeed present such refinements as the ι subscr. in *θνήσκειν* and *σώζειν*, but it is not safe to assume that these minutiae, though attested by Attic inscriptions and found in the Laurentian manuscript of Sophocles, were

observed by the text from which he copied. Most of the mistakes which beset the honest but frail transcriber can be illustrated from this manuscript. *Dittography*: λέγεις λέγεις for λέγεις (94. 3), ὅπουτε ὅποτε for ὅπου τε (108. 19). *Harlography* or *lipograph*: παραλάττει for παραλλάττει (76. 2), πολοστημόριον for πολλοστημόριον (136. 7), ἐμπαθὲς for ἐμπαθὲς ἐς (58. 20). *Itacism*: μέθει for μέθη (52. 14), ἐμπρισμὸς for ἐμπρησμὸς (78. 4), δίδεισι for διήσει (84. 26), ξιφειδίω for ξιφιδίω (120. 7), ἐπιχαρὴς for ἐπίχαρις (132. 2), ἦ for εἰ (134. 11), παντὶ for πάντη (136. 24). *Transposition of letters*: δημιουργήσασαν for δημιουργήσασαν (152. 27). *Confusion of similar words*: ἀδεῶς for ἡδέως (114. 20), εὐπαθοῦς for ἐμπαθοῦς (108. 19). *Wrong division of words* (together with consequent variation of letters): ἀψίδας ἦν for ἀψίδα σὴν (84. 25), ὅπισθεν ὦτα for ὅπισθε νῶτα (86. 5), πράγμασιν ὀρίων for πράγμασι μορίων (76. 14), ἀπουσίας for αὐτοῦ Λυσίας (132. 20), ἄλλους ὄση for ἄμουσος ὄση (142. 11), ἐπιδουὺς for ἐπ' εἰδους (154. 5). *Interpolation of words*: either ἱταμὸν or τὴν ἀναΐδειαν (50. 29). *Mistakes in proper names and alien words*: Φλωρεντιανὲ (40. 3), Φρυγίης for Φρύνης (132. 3), νᾶοι for νᾶνοι (156. 13).

The above may seem a serious list of errors dully made or dully reproduced, but two things are to be remembered: (1) the list is fairly comprehensive, and (2) it shows no sign of a desire gratuitously to improve the text. The general carefulness of the scribe may perhaps be inferred from the marginal notes in his hand. These notes sometimes explain words, e.g. ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπὼν (42. 3), ἀντὶ τοῦ διόλου (48. 6), ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅπου (124. 23), the respective words explained being εἶπας, ἐξ ὅλου, οὐ. Or they call attention to an unusual word: περιαιγῶ (96. 8), δοξοκοπῶ (106. 15), ἀβλεμὲς (116. 15). Or they refer to authors: τοῦτο Ξενοφώντος (50. 22), περὶ Πλάτωνος (52. 7). Or they indicate the nature of the subject-matter under discussion: ὁρος αὐξήσεως (76. 4), τίνι παραλάτει (sic) Κικέρων Δημοσθένους (76. 25), περὶ σχημάτων (90. 19), συνδ. (100. 26: the reference is to τοὺς συνδέσμους), περὶ ὑπερβατῶν ὁρος ὑπερβατοῦ (102. 11), περίφρασις (114. 15), περὶ ὑπερίδου Ση (130. 4)<sup>1</sup>. Or again they make a correction in the text: ὑπ' ἀγωνίας (104. 27: in place of ὑπογωνία); or they make an addition: ὅταν αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαλανθάνῃ ὅτι σχῆμα (94. 28), ὅψιν ποιῶν; πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς (110. 18). In these two last cases the accidental omission, or 'skipping,' of a line is in this way rectified. Another feature of the margin is the occurrence of (H (= N.B.) and

<sup>1</sup> It may be well to explain that there are no chapter-marks or section-marks in the original hand of P.



of  $\overline{\text{P}}$  (=  $\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\nu$ )<sup>1</sup>. In the margin of the present edition the folia of the manuscript (*folium rectum* and *folium versum*) are duly noted for convenience of reference, and in other respects pains have been taken to secure the close correspondence of codex and printed text.

The appended critical notes have been kept down as much as possible both in number and in bulk. But many passages of the treatise present serious difficulties which should be fully stated, and there are some typical instances of conjectural emendations which should be briefly noticed even when not accepted.

## CRITICAL NOTES.

## P. 40

The TITLE which the treatise bears in the manuscripts is discussed in the Introduction, pp. 3, 4.

1. 3.  $\phi\lambda\omega\rho\epsilon\nu\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}$ . This is the reading of P 2036, and it seems better (as pointed out in the Introduction pp. 19, 20) to retain it until some emendation more satisfactory palaeographically than Manutius'  $\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\nu\tau\iota\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}$  has found acceptance. At the same time it is as well not to lay any special stress on the mere presence of the dot. A close examination of the manuscript shows that the dot is added in a later hand, and in any case its signification is not absolutely certain.

1. 7.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma'$ . Spengel's emendation may be adopted as palaeographically easy, and as in keeping with the author's usage (cp. i. 4).  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau'$  is, however, neither impossible nor altogether unlikely: for the accent in P, cp. 88. 28.

11. 13 and 20. Cp. p. 74, lines 10, 15, 18: and p. 78, lines 5, 8. The erasures in P 2036 are numerous. Often they are due simply to the desire of the original scribe, or a later corrector, to give a better division of a word at the end of a line<sup>2</sup>. Probably the change of arrangement in 40. 13 is from the original hand; in 74. 10 (and in several other instances on that page and on the next) the changes are probably from another hand.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol  $\overline{\text{P}}$  occurs opposite ix. 10 (end of section). The abbreviation  $\overline{\text{H}}$  occurs opposite xxx. 1 (end of section). The last sentence in xiii. 2 has *both* symbols entered opposite to it.—On fol. 200<sup>r</sup> P has the abbreviation  $\pi\mu$  for  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ . Similar contractions occur elsewhere for such words as  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> The end of lines is marked in the collation, wherever it seems important to do so, by a vertical stroke.

## p. 42

1. 7. οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἢ ἐνθένδε, Weiske. So Cobet (*Mnemosyne* N.S. x. 319), 'Transpose: οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἢ ἐνθένδε ἐπρώτευσαν.' Changes of this class seem extremely doubtful.

1. 14. Tanaquil Faber (an excellent scholar in his day) proposed πάντως for παντός. But though πάντως would be quite characteristic of our author, the order παντὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀκρωμένον is no less characteristic of him.

1. 19. Erwin Rohde (*Rheinisches Museum* N.F. xxxv. 309) suggests διεφώτισεν. διεφόρησεν, however, seems more in keeping with ἐξενεχθῆναι and with σκηπτοῦ.

1. 24. ἡ βάθους. Jahn (in his edition of 1867) regarded these words as an interpolation, and W. Schmid (*Rhein. Mus.* lii. 446) conjectures βάρους, while H. Diels (*Hermes* xiii. 5) has suggested μεγέθους—palaeographically an easier change, he maintains, than it might seem. Others still have favoured πάθους, which word however does not cover the same ground as ὕψος (cp. viii. 2). In defence of the manuscript reading, see M. Rothstein in *Hermes* xxii. 538. Reference may also be made to the Linguistic Appendix under βάθος.—The manuscript tradition is probably right in the converse case on p. 92. 12, where πάθος as given by P should be adopted rather than βάθος, the emendation proposed by Ruhnken and Spengel.

1. 26. φασί Manutius and most subsequent editors. So in Cod. El. φησί has been altered into φασί. But a comparison with xxix. 1 makes it probable that Κεκίλιος should be supplied as subject: cp. L. Martens, *De Libello Περὶ Ὑψους*, p. 10. Or φησί may be used quite generally for 'says one,' 'it is said': cp. *inquit*.

## p. 48

1. 2. μῆποτε seems right: cp. xl. 2. Manutius gave δῆποτε, Reiske ἤδη ποτε, Cobet ἐνίποτε.—In the same sentence Wilamowitz (*Hermes* x. 334—346) would insert ἐπὶ before λόγων.

1. 14. ἄκαιρον καὶ κενόν. Wilamowitz, l.c., proposes ἄκαιρον κείμενον.

## p. 50

1. 2. It has been usual to insert ἔτεσι after ἐλάττοσι, and it must be admitted that after -τοσι or -τοσιν the word might very easily fall out. In defence of the reading of P it may, however, be urged that

the author occasionally allows himself such omissions where (as here) they create no real ambiguity: cp. the omission of  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\upsilon$  in xxxi. 2. See Starkie's *Wasps of Aristophanes* pp. 131, 132.

l. 29. It seems impossible to translate the text of P as it stands. Either  $\iota\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\nu$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$  should probably be regarded as a gloss. For a fuller discussion of the passage, see *Classical Review*, Vol. XIII. No. 1.

## p. 52

l. 2.  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\omega}\rho\ \iota\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\ \tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , Rohde in *Rhein. Mus.* xxxv. 310. Approved by Bury in *Classical Review* i. 302, and by Martens in *Philologische Rundschau* i. 338. But the emendation is ingenious rather than convincing: cp. the explanation given, 'Wie ein Dieb, der (aus Unkunde oder Versehen) eines Giftes (statt gesunder Speise) sich bemächtigt, so stiehlt Timaeus dem Xen. jenes  $\psi\upsilon\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu$ .'

## p. 54

l. 3. The reading  $\delta\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  seems right and is retained by all editors. The author, here as elsewhere, has chosen a less usual form in order to avoid hiatus.

## p. 58

l. 20. It is possible that  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  (without  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ) might be rendered *contribuere* or *conficere*.

## p. 64

l. 6. In place of  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon$  the following emendations have been offered:  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\omega}\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon$  (Manutius),  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\eta\sigma\epsilon$  (Rohde),  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\sigma\epsilon$  (Robinson Ellis).

## p. 68

l. 3.  $\sigma\upsilon\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\beta\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . For this, the reading of P,  $\sigma\upsilon\omicron\mu\omicron\rho\phi\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  was substituted by Valckenaer, who is followed by Vahlen.

## p. 70

ll. 1—17. The corrections (comparatively few, here as elsewhere) necessary in the text of P are due to Robortello, Ahrens, Bergk, and

others: see Bergk (ut infra). The several contributions of these scholars have not been specified in the critical footnotes, as it seemed more important to reproduce in full the exact text (continuously written) found in P. Elsewhere the fusion of words has usually been disregarded in reporting the text of P.—In line 13 Ahrens' emendation καὶ δέ has been adopted. Mr G. B. Mathews (to whom it occurred independently) remarks that it is confirmed by (1) the reading of P, and (2) the words καὶ μὲν in line 9, where καὶ has clearly puzzled the scribes; while Bergk's αἰ δέ involves the strange gender αἰ ἰδρῶς, which is hardly sufficiently established by the statement (Cram. *Anecd. Oxon.* i. 208), ἰδρῶς· τοῦτο παρ' Αἰολεῦσι θηλυκῶς λέγεται· ἀναδέχεται κλίσιν ἀκόλουθον θηλυκῶ γένει 'ἀδεμ' ἰδρῶς κακὸς (cp. ψυχρὸς in P) χέεται.'—As to the final words of the ode, Bergk (*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>4</sup> III. 90) says: 'Quae sequuntur—ἐπεὶ καὶ πένητα—uncis inclusi, nam videntur haec ad Longini orationem pertinere, fort. ἀλλὰ πᾶν τολματόν, ἐπεὶ πέν· εἴτα (vel κᾶτα) οὐ θαυμάζοις, κ.τ.λ.' In Otto Crusius' *Anthologia Lyrica* (edited after Bergk and Hiller, in 1897), the ode is (p. 195) made to end thus:—

τεθνάκην δ' ὀλίγω 'πιδεύ(ης)  
φαίνομαι ἄλλα.

For another view, see Robinson Ellis, in *Hermathena*, xxii. 385.

#### P. 72

ll. 18—21. Various efforts have been made by edd. to introduce uniformity into the words αἰδ' ἐρύκει.....αἰδ' ἀπείργει.....οὐκοῦν ἀπείργει. But the variety is due simply to the author's desire to replace a more poetical by a less poetical word, 'ward off' or 'fend off' by 'keep off.'—The interpretation of οὐκοῦν ἀπείργει was also once a source of difficulty, and led to the omission of the words. Rightly understood, they are distinctly happy and seem to show (cp. 50. 4, 88. 17, 124. 27, 128. 23, 130. 27, 152. 8) that the author was not without a sense of humour.

#### P. 74

ll. 8—10. In this vexed passage, with the present editor's proposed insertion of ἐς, ἐμπιοῦντα should be retained and should be taken to agree with ταῦτα and to govern ψύγματα ἢ ἀραιώματα. The passage requires illustration from the language of architecture at all periods and from the usage of later writers generally:—

(1) ψύγματα. Manutius' emendation ψήγματα has been strangely followed by most of the best editors, including Spengel and C. Hammer. But ψήγματα, *chips*, is not so appropriate here as ψύγματα, *chinks*. The latter term is used by Dionys. Hal. *de Comp. Verb.* xx. of the gap, or hiatus, between words which do not run smoothly together. As applied to a building, it bears no doubt the same meaning of 'breathing-space,' 'air-hole,' 'gap' which we find in the Latin *spiramentum*: cp. Vitruv. *de Architectura* (ed. V. Rose et H. Müller-Strübing) iv. 7: 'cum enim inter se tangunt (trabes) et non spiramentum et perflatum venti recipiunt, concalefaciuntur et celeriter putrescunt'; and Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 49: 'hoc videtur facere laxatis spiramentis ad satietatem infusus aer.'

(2) ἀραιώματα, *openings, fissures, orifices*. For the use here cp. Strab. *Geograph.* iv. 4 p. 195: διόπερ οὐ συνάγουσι τὰς ἁρμονίας τῶν σανίδων, ἀλλ' ἀραιώματα καταλείπουσι.

(3) ἐμποιέω. This word is primarily used of buildings, as in *Iliad* vii. 438:

ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὐ ἀραρυίας,

where αὐτοῖσι = πύργοις. It is also used in the metaphorical sense *to foist in*, as by Herodotus vii. 6 ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμόν, and by Dionys. Hal. *Antiqq. Rom.* iv. 62 (χρησμοὶ) ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις.

(4) συνοικονομούμενα. This word is not applied specially to buildings. The nearest parallel to the present passage will perhaps be found in Lucian *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 51, where the uncompounded word is used of the due ordering, or management, of his material by an artist (ἐς δέον οἰκονομήσασθαι τὴν ὕλην). It is possible that we should, with Manutius, read συνοικοδομούμενα, thus changing a single letter. It must, however, be confessed that both συνοικονομούμενα and συνοικοδομούμενα seem somewhat superfluous and disconnected, and we may either suspect a gloss or regard this as an instance of that redundancy to which the author is prone.

(5) μεγέθη = *magnitudes*. Cp. Vitruv. *de Arch.* vi. 11, 'itaque si angulares pilae erunt spatiosis magnitudinibus, continendo cuneos firmitatem operibus praestabunt.' The metaphor occurs again in *De Sublim.* xxxix. 3, τῇ τε τῶν λέξεων ἐπικοδομήσει τὰ μεγέθη συναρμόζουσιν.

It may be added that Robinson Ellis (*Hermathena* xxii. 386)

thinks that the last word in the sentence may have been : *συνεστοι-  
χισμένα* or *συνεστιχισμένα*, 'set in a row side by side.'

## p. 76

l. 10. *διὸ κείνο* is the reading of P here. The former was changed by Manutius to *διώπερ*, and the latter by Robortello to *ἐκείνο*. Spengel and Hammer agree in both cases. But it is better, with Vahlen, to reproduce the manuscript reading: for *κείνος* cp. 80. 16, and for *διὸ* cp. 90. 9 and 112. 14. Granted the *διώ*, the *κείνο* seems to follow: cp. H. v. Rohden, *Quas rationes in hiatu vitando scriptor de Sublimitate et Onesander secuti sint*, p. 70.

l. 22. *ἐπέστραπται*. Bentley's conjecture *ἀπαστράπτει* ('does not show the lightning's flash in equal measure') seems, at first sight, itself a flash of inspiration. In its metaphor it is in harmony with what precedes and with what follows, and the word might well have been written by the author had he thought of it. But *ἐπέστραπται* ('is not so direct, earnest, vehement'), though less striking, is a thoroughly appropriate word, and it is, together with its cognates, a favourite term in rhetoric. In fact the perfect of this very verb is elsewhere applied to the style of Demosthenes, as it here is to the orator himself: Philostr. *Vitae Sophist.* p. 504, *σεμνότης δὲ ἡ μὲν Δημοσθένους ἐπεστραμμένη μᾶλλον, ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους ἀβροτέρα τε καὶ ἡδίων*: cp. Herod. viii. 62, *σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε* (*Θεμιστοκλῆς*) *ἐς Εὐρυβιάδα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα*. Cp. also the adj. *ἐπιστρεφής* (= *intentus*) in Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 3, 7, *μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφής εἶναι ῥήτωρ*: in Aesch. c. *Timarch.* § 71, *ἐπιστρεφῶς καὶ ῥητορικῶς.....φύσονται*: and in Dionys. Hal. *Antiqq. Rom.* vii. 34, *ἐπιστρεφῶς πάνυ καὶ θρασέως ἀπάντων αὐτῶν καθήπτετο*. Finally, our author himself supplies an illustration in a much misunderstood passage (xxviii. 3), where *ἐπέστρεψεν* (which governs the preceding *τὸν λόγον*) is contrasted with *ἀποστρέψας*. Similarly, in xxii. 2 *ἀπέστρεψε* (given by P) should be retained in the sense of 'turn aside,' 'divert.'

## p. 80

l. 20. *ἡθῶν*, the reading of P, may possibly be translated 'like taking, as from noble characters, an impression of (i.e. consisting in) images or (other) pieces of workmanship.' Cp. *τὸ τῆς φύσεως τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ δημιούργημα, ὁ τοῦ Πολυκλείτου* (Lucian, *de Morte Peregrini*, viii.), 'this image fashioned by Nature's own hands, this paragon of

Polycleitus'), with which in turn may be compared τὴν δημιουργήσαν φύσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον (*de Sublim.* xliii. 5).

But the substitution of εἰδῶν for ἡθῶν diminishes the harshness of the construction, the meaning being 'the imitation of pictures or statues or other works of art.' The stages of corruption may have been: εἰδῶν, εἰ δ' ὦν, ἡθῶν (for the confusion of θ and δ, cp. p. 160. 5 supra). Diels (*Hermes* xiii. 6) has suggested λίθων. Bury (*Classical Review* 1. 301) would prefer ἡ θεῶν ('sights,' 'spectacles'), though he doubts whether any alteration is needed.

## p. 82

1. 13. It seems just possible that πεπαῖχθαι may stand, in the sense of 'fingere' or 'sibi fingere,' with ὑπέχειν dependent upon it. This perfect is found in an active sense in Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, p. 409, οἷα πέπαιγμα | οὐ κενά. It occurs also in the sentence πεπαῖχθαί τις ἂν οἰηθείη τὴν λέξιν (Timarch. ap. Athen. 501 E); and the word is, it may be added, frequently used by Plutarch, e.g. τοῦτο τὸ παιζόμενον, 'said in proverbial jest,' *Non posse suaviter vivi*, vi. 4; τὸ Μενεδήμῳ πεπαιγμένον, 'iocus Menedemi,' *De profectibus in virt.* x.

But there has been an erasure, and it is not certain what the original reading of P may have been at the point where the letters αι now stand. If we are driven to conjecture, it might seem best to adopt προσῆχθαι, with Weiske fil. προσάγειν would keep up the forensic metaphor, since it is used by Plutarch (*de Stoicorum repugnantibus* xxxii. 2) of 'bringing into court.'—But with either reading the dependence of the preceding infinitive is harsh. Vahlen supposes that several words have fallen out; Wilamowitz regards πεπαῖχθαι as a gloss. Others suggest τετάχθαι or πεπέισθαι.

11. 16, 17. The meaning is that a writer should not be deterred by any regard for the conventions of the hour from giving utterance to eternal truths. Cp. Lucian, *Hermotimus*, lxvii. ὑπερήμερον γίγνεσθαι πάληθες τοῦ ἐκάστου βίου.

If Pearce's conjecture οὐ φθέγγετο be adopted, the rendering will be 'if one fears at the time that he will not utter anything to outlast his own life and age.' The οὐ may easily have been lost after χρόνον, but probably the text is right as it is. A writer is not to shrink from expressing the truth that is in him through a nervous dread lest he be considered an *exalté*, to use a word which seems

naturally suggested by ὕψος. He should avoid the fate of Thomas Gray in later times who, according to the contemporary judgment quoted by Matthew Arnold, *never spoke out*.

l. 22. Schurzfleisch's substitution of Τερεντιανὲ for νεανία is followed even by Vahlen and C. Hammer. For a defence of the reading of P, see the Introduction p. 19 *supra*.

l. 23. Robinson Ellis (*Hermathena* xxii. 386) suggests τὰς αὐτάς, 'such at least is the name given by some to what is also called imagery.'

## p. 84

l. 5. P seems to separate the τό τε, thus suggesting that some such word as ἐνθουσιαστικόν, or παθητικόν, has disappeared. The former view is that of Rothstein, who would also read ὁμοίως in place of ὁμως.

## p. 86

l. 5. The editors commonly adopt the conjecture σειραίου in place of σερίου as given by P. But Mr A. S. Way prefers the manuscript reading, on which he comments as follows in a letter to the editor: 'If the sun be imagined as a chariot of horses, there is nothing improbable in Sirius (or a fiery star) being represented as a single horse. In *Ion* 1150, Night is represented as drawn by two horses. So in *Orestes* 1005, Dawn (which may be taken as the morning-star) is spoken of as having a *single steed*, which seems a pretty close analogy to that of the dog-star (or any fiery-blazing star) being a single horse.' σειραίου is (Mr Way thinks) tamer and hard to reconcile with ὀπισθε.

## p. 88

l. 15. Robinson Ellis' proposal τοῦ ἀλόγου ('the absurd' or 'irrational') avoids the dependence of τοῦ λόγου on τὸ πλάσμα,—a dependence which is unlikely even in a book so free in the order of its words and in its treatment of the article as the περὶ ὕψους.

## p. 90

l. 17. Probably ἦ should be added before μιμήσεως or omitted before φαντασίας. As it stands, the sentence is awkward and ambiguous.

l. 27. The addition of ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, as proposed by Manutius and adopted by Vahlen, seems hardly necessary if we remember that



the author commonly quotes from memory and with some freedom (cp. Hersel *Qua in citandis scriptorum et poetarum locis auctor libelli περὶ ὕψους usus sit ratione*, p. 26). Exact citation was in antiquity neither an easy matter nor one to which much importance was attached, and we see in this passage how a late writer half unconsciously introduces small changes (τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας for τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας, and ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας for Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας<sup>1</sup>) which make the language more immediately intelligible in his own age.

## p. 92

1. 11. Manutius changed μεθεστακῶς into μεθιστάς,—unnecessarily, as the use of παρέστακεν (112. 23) shows.

## p. 94

1. 13. The omission by P (as here in δημοσία) of any recognition of the ι *subscr.* has not, as a rule, been noted in the present collation. An instance of the insertion (or adscription) of the ι will be found on p. 96. 7 (fol. 191<sup>r</sup>), τῶι φωτὶ αὐτῶι. The capriciousness of P in this matter is shown in the next line (96. 8) where it gives τῶι ἡλίῳ.

## p. 96

1. 2. The meaning given to παραληφθεῖσα.....τοῖς κάλλεσι καὶ μεγέθεσι in the translation is somewhat strained, and 'introduced by' (cp. xxxviii. 4) might be a better rendering. It might be better still to accept Bury's suggestion περιλαμβθεῖσα, in support of which he quotes ᾧ τὸ πραγματικὸν ἐγκρύπτεται περιλαμβόμενον from c. xv. 11 (cp. also τίνι γὰρ ἐνταῦθ' ὁ ῥήτωρ.....τὸ μέγεθος, xvii. 2).—On the other hand, the change of κάλλεσι to πάθεσι (made by Toll, Spengel and Hammer) seems hardly justified by the consideration that πάθος is often found in association with ὕψος or μέγεθος.

1. 18. κατακαλύψει is in accord with the preceding metaphor, but οἶον (unless it refers specially to τηρεῖ) would almost seem to suggest that a new metaphor is about to be introduced. Possibly, therefore, καταλήψει—as found in the inferior MSS. and adopted by Spengel and Hammer—should be admitted into the text.

<sup>1</sup> Forced by the verse, he gives Μαραθῶνι in xvi. 3 and (by association) in xvi. 4, but in xvii. 2 he reverts to the preposition.

## p. 98

l. 9. It is perhaps hardly likely that *παροξύνοντες* (the reading of P) can be used in a neuter sense, as *ἐθίζει* is best taken on p. 64. 12 (cp. *ἀκρωτηριάζει*, p. 144. 19).

l. 23. It seems better to adhere to the *ῥησσον* of P than to substitute the *ῥηττον* of Robortello and subsequent edd. No doubt *ττ* is more common than *σσ* in P, in which *ῥηττον* itself is found. But in such matters it is hardly safe to demand uniformity from Augustan Greek any more than from Elizabethan English; the author himself may well have used both forms. For *σσ*, cp. *νεοσσόν* on p. 68. 4 and *γλωσσαν* on p. 122. 18, though it should be added that in both these cases the word may be regarded as a quotation or reminiscence, as is the case also with *ῥησσον* on p. 140. 4.

## p. 102

l. 10. It is not easy to decide between *ἀπολύει*, *looses*, and *ἀπολλύει*, *loses*, *perdit*. But on the whole, it seems better to depart from the reading of P. Perhaps it is an objection rather than otherwise to *ἀπολύει* that it continues the preceding metaphors, and certainly the active voice is unnatural unless some such general notion as 'the hindrance' is to be taken as the subject.

## p. 104

l. 9. *ἐφιστώς*. Spengel and Hammer would change to *ἐφιστὸς*, and they make a similar change on p. 142. 23 where P gives *παρεστώς*. But it is probably the grammatical form they introduce, not the one they eject, that most requires defence. '*ἐστώς*, the organically correct form of the neuter of the Strong Perf. Part. of *ἵστημι*, is the only form recognised by recent German authorities (Hartel, Kaegi, etc.): *ἐστὸς* appears in some MSS. (e.g. in *Oed. Tyr.* 633, *τὸ νῦν παρεστὸς νεῖκος*, Jebb).' E. A. Sonnenschein, *Greek Accidence*<sup>2</sup>, p. 141.

## p. 108

l. 8. Robortello's reading *αὔξησιν*, 'amplification,' has been generally accepted. Rothstein has, however, pointed out (*Hermes* xxii. 537) that *αὔξησιν* is no less appropriate, and seems to fit in well with the preceding words, *φύσει γὰρ ἐξακούεται τὰ πράγματα κομπωδέστερα ἀγελῶδον οὕτως τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπισυντιθεμένων*. He thinks that *αὔχης*, like *ἐπίδειξις*, may have been a term used in the rhetorical

schools; and he quotes from Hesychius, 'ἀνχῆσις (editur ἀνχῆτις)· σεμνότης.'

Rothstein, it may be mentioned, describes ἀνχῆσιν as 'Robortelli coniectura.' As a matter of fact, the reading is found (as a correction, but one proceeding probably from the copyist himself) in Cod. El., which manuscript also gives πρέπουσαν (112. 9) and θεσμοδείτης (64. 5).

p. 112

l. 9. Rothstein (*Hermes* xxii. 544) finds the reading πρέπουσαν unsatisfactory: 'hoc moneo, minime certam videri Robortelli emendationem neque multo magis placere quam traditum ἄτε τρέπουσαν; nimis enim exiliter dictum est quod restituit quam ut hunc scriptorem deceat, ut omittam ne formam quidem orationis aptam esse, cum ἐαυτῷ ad πρέπουσαν cogitari vix possit. sententiae satisfaceret fortasse aut ἄτε ἡρεμοῦσαν aut ἄτε περὶ προσώπου οὔσαν.'

l. 14. πρόχρησις has not made its way into Liddell and Scott's lexicon. But there can be little doubt that the word, though ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, is genuine, being one of those prepositional compounds to which our author is so much addicted, and meaning 'first use,' 'use by preference,' 'proper use.' χρήσις, πρόσχρησις, and ἡ κυρία χρήσις have been suggested. But no change is required. In fact, as it stands, the text might be interpreted by means of the last of these suggestions, ἡ κυρία χρήσις.

l. 15. ἡνίκα.....διδῶ should be compared with δόποτε.....ζέση and ἡνίκα.....παρ᾽ αὐτῇ on p. 122. 27 and p. 124. 10. The absence of the ἄν can of course be illustrated from earlier as well as later Greek, and our author may have thought (cp. Goodwin, *Syntax of Greek Verb*, p. 208) that he was following good Platonic precedent.

p. 116

l. 19. Manutius and subsequent editors read φασίν in place of φησίν as given by P. But the latter should probably be adopted, Κεκίλιος being supplied as subject. Cp. p. 171 supra.

p. 118

l. 8. Some such word as φάνωσιν may possibly underlie the τ' ἄν ᾧσι of P.

## p. 120

l. 11. Vahlen has defended the reading of P, viz. τῷ σημαντικῶς. He supplies ἔχειν, comparing σημαντικώτατα ἔχειν (xxxī. 1). τῷ σημαντικῶ and similar suggestions seem unnecessary.

## p. 122

l. 1. Vahlen, following Stephanus, would read ἐπιτίμησις in place of ὑποτίμησις. As Robinson Ellis (*Hermathena* ix. 387) says, ὑποτίμησις should not be altered, but should be understood to be nearly = 'correction,' or 'speaking under correction.'

## p. 126

l. 2. Apparently αὐτό (if this and ὅμως and καί are genuine) is more or less of a Latinism, and must be taken with ἀπεθάρρῃσε and regarded as preparing the way for τῷ παντί...ἀποφήνασθαι. To the various emendations offered must now be added Tucker's conjecture ὁ Μῶμος αὐτοῦ (*Classical Review*, February 1898, p. 24), in which (ingenious as the suggestion is) the αὐτοῦ raises a couple of difficulties. Is αὐτοῦ (= Πλάτωνος) altogether likely when Πλάτωνος occurs later in the same clause, and is ὁ Μῶμος αὐτοῦ a possible phrase for 'his bitter censor'? However, Blass (*Griech. Bereds.* p. 192) gives ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ, though he does not construe the words.

ll. 6—8. To translate this passage at all, it appears necessary to place a comma after φιλονεικίας, and to understand 'he (is carried away) by contentiousness, and even his premisses (are) not, as he thought, admitted.' Kayser would, in the latter half of the sentence, add παρίστησι. But the author is occasionally elliptical (as well as redundant), and may be so here.

## p. 128

l. 3. It will be seen that P gives αἰεὶ here and on pp. 124. 17, 128. 12, 134. 22, 142. 25. It is possible that the author read αἰεὶ in his text of Plato (the form is often found in our own MSS.) and deliberately adopted the archaism. For an archaism it must have been in his day: cp. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 25, 'In den Staatspsephismen findet man bis zum Jahre 361 v. Chr. abwechselnd αἰεὶ und αἰεί; von da an nur noch die letztere Form. Nur in den Dekreten religiöser Genossenschaften (Thiasoten) begegnet αἰεὶ noch im II Jahrhundert v. Chr.'

l. 11. Rothstein (*Hermes* xxii. 539) thinks it possible that αἰτίας may be right.

P. 130

l. 3. Pearce, and most subsequent editors, read τῷ μεγέθει for τῷ ἀληθεί, but see Rothstein (*Hermes* xxii. 539).—‘For ἀριθμῷ we should read ὄρω, retaining P’s ἀληθεί. The corruption is due to an abbreviated writing of ἀριθμός: see Dr Jackson’s note in the *Journal of Philology* xxvi. p. 157, where the converse corruption is removed from the Eudemian Ethics 1243 b,’ J. P. Postgate (communicated).

l. 14. For ἡδὺν λιτῶς Tucker (*Classical Review* xii. 24) would read εἰδυλλικῶς. Perhaps the emendation may derive some support from the fact that between the ν and the λ a slight erasure (not noted by the editors) has taken place in P.

ll. 17, 18. A difficult passage, which has been very variously emended: κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς κώμους, κατὰ τοὺς ἀστικοὺς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ’ ἐπεικῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐπιχαριτώμενα, ἀλλ’ εὐσχήμονα, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους ἅλας ἐπικείμενα. The last is Tucker’s suggestion, and the rendering he gives is, ‘seasoned with wit after the manner of the classic Athenians.’ He argues that ‘Longinus would certainly not have said of the classic Athenians that their jests were ἄμουςα or ἀνάγωγα.’ But the reference in κατὰ τοὺς Ἀττικοὺς ἐκείνους may possibly be not to ‘the classic Athenians’ but to the teachers of Attic diction in and before the author’s time. There is more force in Tucker’s observation that the sense of ἐπικείμενα is obscure. Rothstein (who thinks that the Athenian comic poets are in question) would understand ἐπικείμενα ‘de salibus leviter et eleganter orationi adpersis, ubi alii ἐπιτρέχειν vel ἐπανθεῖν potius dixissent.’ Robinson Ellis suggests the meaning ‘urgent, giving no quarter,’ the reference being to the directness and unsparing character of the repartee.

P. 132

l. 6. Robinson Ellis (*Hermathena* ix. 387) defends καρδίῃ νήφοντος, quoting Plut. *de Garrul.* p. 503 F, τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ νήφοντος ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης ἐστὶ τοῦ μεθύοντος, ὡς οἱ παροιμαζόμενοι φασιν. He adds that the Ionic dative seems to prove that the proverb was known in a poetical form.

l. 25. Robinson Ellis (l.c.) remarks that the ἔ\*\*κρινε of Jahn-Vahlen seems to point to ἐπέκρινε as the true reading. But the space is small—too small for πε as usually written in this MS.

## P. 134

l. 2. τῶν ἄθλων αὐτῆς, 'her triumphs,' is commonly read in place of τῶν ὀλων αὐτῆς, 'her mighty fabric.' But the expression τὰ ὅλα is frequent in later Greek, and it is better not to anticipate φιλοτιμοτάτους ἀγωνιστὰς by reading ἄθλων. The addition of φιλοτιμ. ἀγων. is in the spirit of Bacon's comment upon the saying of Pythagoras that he was a *spectator* of life: 'Men ought to know that in the theatre of human life it is only for God and angels to be *spectators*.'

l. 19. In place of αὐτοῦ μόνου the following emendations have been proposed: αὐτόχθονος (Ruhnken), αὐτονόμου (Wytttenbach), αὐτομάτου (Haupt), ὑπονόμου (M. Schmidt). See further in the Literary Appendix under *Pindar*.

## P. 142

l. 6. Ernesti (*Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, p. 101) defended μετ' ἐλευθερίας, and offered the following translation of the passage: 'harmonia non solum natura adiumentum est blande ducendi et oblectandi, sed etiam, si modo anxium artis studium et putidam concinnitatis diligentiam vites, adfectui mirifice inservit.' He thus took ἐλευθερία to refer to freedom of arrangement, and the καί before πάθους to mean 'also,' like the καί after ἀλλά.

## P. 144

l. 2. Manutius conjectured ἔοικε μανία, Spengel εἴη ἂν μανία.

l. 11. The best discussion of the whole of this passage will be found in a little known but excellent paper by G. Amsel, published under the title 'De vi atque indole Rhythmorum quid Veteres iudicaverint' in the *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* (Vratisl., 1887), vol. 1. pt 3, pp. 1—112. After τό τε in l. 11 Amsel supposes that a number of words have been lost, the first of them perhaps being τέλος. Further down he explains τέτρασι καταμετρούμενου χρόνοις thus: 'efficiuntur igitur secundum Pseudo-Longinum verbis ὥσπερ νέφος duo rhythmī, id est pedes: —, ∪ ≡, quorum prior — est τετράσημος.'

It is obvious that by δακτυλικοὶ ῥυθμοί something more is meant than we should understand by dactylic rhythms. It is not unlikely that the author would have divided the sentence for rhythmical purposes thus, τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει | περιστάντα | κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν | ἐποίησεν | ὥσπερ νέφος; and that he would have regarded each of these divisions as forming a ῥυθμὸς δακτυλικός

(cp. Amsel, l.c., p. 87). But even upon this and other suppositions, the passage is full of difficulties, which our imperfect knowledge of Greek rhythms is unable to remove. See, however, the description of the 'iambic-dactyl' in the newly-discovered metrical fragment (probably of Aristoxenus) in Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I. pp. 15—19.

l. 19. ἀκρωτηριάζεται is also read, but the verb is probably intransitive here. Cp. note on p. 179 supra.

#### P. 148

l. 15. In this difficult and suspected passage Mr Mathews is no doubt right in suggesting that the words ἐγκοπὰς and σκληρότητας refer to 'notches' or 'incisions' and 'roughnesses,'—to dovetailing and friction as used in carpentry.

ll. 19—22. The following emendations have been suggested in this much disputed and probably corrupt passage. In the earlier part: δ' ἐπ' εὐθύ Manutius, δ' ἄγει ἐπ' εὐθύ H. Stephanus, δ' ἐπευθύνει Petra, δὲ σπεύδει Rohde. In the latter part: ἀπόψυχα γὰρ τὰ μῆκος ἄκαιρον ἀνακαλούμενα Manutius, ἄψυχα γὰρ διὰ μῆκος ἄκαιρον (ἄπειρον) ἀναχαλόμενα Faber, ἀπόψυχα τὰ παρ' ἄκαιρον μῆκος ἀνακαλούμενα Pearce, ἀπόψυχα ἅτε παρὰ μῆκος ἄκαιρον ἀναχαλόμενα Toup, ἀποψύχεται εἰς (πρὸς Wilamowitz) ἄκαιρον μῆκος ἀναχαλόμενα Ruhnken, ἀπόψυχα γὰρ τὰ ἄκαιρον μῆκος ἀνακαλινδούμενα Spengel.—In the earlier part (to revert to it) Meinel would read συντομία δὲ τείνει ἐπ' εὐθύ, comparing xiii. 2 καὶ ἄλλη τις παρὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τείνει and Plut. *Demosth. Vit.* xxvi. 5, τὴν εὐθὺ τοῦ θανάτου τείνουσαν (ὁδόν).

The words δῆλον—ἀνακαλούμενα seem like the addition of a transcriber who thought he detected an omission in the treatment of the subject; or they may be rough notes of the author himself.

#### P. 152

l. 17. ἀλλάξας, the reading of P, may possibly be explained in the sense of 'changing the sentence thus,' the nominative being employed as though ἐδύνάτο or the like had preceded.

#### P. 154

l. 12. Cobet (*Novae Lectiones*, p. 645) would read πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔναγχος in place of προσέναγχος as given by P, and the alteration is a tempting one. But προσέναγχος has in its favour not only the

manuscript tradition but the known partiality of our author for compounds and double compounds beginning with *πρός*.

## p. 156

l. 14. The recent conjecture (*συναραιοῖ*) of W. Schmid has been adopted here: see *Rheinisches Museum* LIII. (1897) p. 446. Among other conjectures may be mentioned: *συνάγει*, *συναίρει*, *συναμανροῖ*. Meinel has suggested *συναροῖ*, a verb formed from the adjective *συναρός*.

## p. 158

l. 17. For *μηδ' ἕτερα* (which reading perhaps will just stand, and is, in fact, retained by the most recent editors) the following substitutions have been suggested: *μηδὲ πέρα*, *μηδὲ παρὰ*, *μηδὲ περί*. More likely than any of these is Ruhnken's *μηδ' ὑστεροφημίας* (in place of *μηδ' ἕτερα φήμης*): cp. p. 82. 19 *supra*.

l. 20. *θνητά* is a gloss on *δαπανητά*, of which *καπανητά* is a corruption. Accordingly *δαπανητά* should be restored to its place before *ἐαυτῶν*. The use of *δαπανᾶν* in this sense has been established by M. Rothstein in *Hermes* xxii. p. 546 from Dion. Hal. 4. 81 and Plutarch *Galba* 17. He proposes (besides *καὶ γεννητά*) *καὶ δαπανητά*, which is tautological if *θνητά* is retained,' J. P. Postgate (communicated).

## p. 160

l. 2. The gap assumed by Robortello has been filled by later scholars in various ways. *πρὸς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ* Manutius, *πρὸς τῆς τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας* Ruhnken (these words being taken from l. 6), *πρὸς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φιλοχρηματίας* Toll.

l. 10. The emendation *ἐπικλύσειαν* has been accepted by some of the best editors. But is there not more confusion of metaphor in speaking of escaped prisoners as 'flooding' the world with calamity than as 'firing' it? In the latter case they have turned incendiaries and ignite the world with evil deeds.

l. 11. *δαπανῶν* is difficult and probably corrupt.

l. 16. As already indicated, P ends a page (fol. 207<sup>v</sup>) with the words *περὶ ὧν*, the remaining leaves having been lost.



## APPENDIX B.

LINGUISTIC. WITH A SELECT GLOSSARY, CHIEFLY OF  
RHETORICAL TERMS.

In his 'Historical Greek Grammar,' Dr Jannaris has followed the growth of the Greek language in five successive stages, the last of which brings us down to our own time :—

1. Attic or Classical Period, 500—300 B.C.
2. Hellenistic or Alexandrian Period, 300—150 B.C.
3. Graeco-Roman Period, 150 B.C.—300 A.D.
4. Transitional Period, 300—600 A.D.
5. Neohellenic Period, 600—1900 A.D.

The *De Sublimitate* belongs to the Graeco-Roman period, but in that period it stands somewhat apart. It cannot be assigned to the strict 'Atticist' school, the diction of which (as seen in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Dion Chrysostom, Lucian, Aristeides, and others) has lately been so exhaustively studied by W. Schmid<sup>1</sup>. Rather, it is conceived in the spirit of protest against the position assumed by Caecilius, one of the leaders of the Atticist movement, who had presumed to exalt Lysias at the expense of Plato, of whom our author is a fervent admirer and a diligent imitator. At the same time, though the author does not 'Atticise' in the narrower sense, he is a true follower of such Attic writers as Plato himself, and he has a genuine distaste for the vices of the Asiatic style<sup>2</sup>.

The general features of his own style are fairly obvious. A single short chapter, such as c. vii., might serve as a sample of the whole treatise. In this chapter, or elsewhere, we find superabundance of

<sup>1</sup> W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, Stuttgart, 1887—1897, 5 vols. Reference may also be made to E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa: vom vi. Jahrhundert v. Christ bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the author's relation to Caecilius, more will be said in the Literary Index under that writer's name.—For the Asiatic rhetoric, see (besides F. Blass, *Die griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus*, Berlin, 1865) Erwin Rohde's article 'Die asianische Rhetorik und die zweite Sophistik' in *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xli. (year 1886), pp. 170—190.

words and of metaphors; we find compound words in the same excessive plenty; we find poetical expressions, and expressions of doubtful currency. But we feel at the same time the warm imaginative glow which pervades the book and redeems all its minor shortcomings. *Décadent* though the writer may sometimes seem in his language, he breathes nevertheless the spirit of the best classic or heroic age. And even in his phraseology, where it may seem most poetical, it is always well to inquire whether there may not be Platonic authority for the words chosen. For example, δίκην (= 'like,' i. 4; xxxii. 1) is found in Plato, and that in a passage which happens to be quoted in the *περὶ ὕψους* itself (c. xiii.). δειλός (ii. 1) is another poetical word common to Plato and the *De Sublimitate*; and many other cases of coincidence will appear in the succeeding lists. It is quite open to anyone to urge, as Caecilius of Calacte would no doubt have done, that the prose of Plato, with its strong *color poeticus*, is a dangerous model for ordinary uninspired mortals to follow; but the fact that such a model was followed should always be kept in mind.

Another marked characteristic of the *De Sublimitate* is its long and rhythmical sentences<sup>1</sup>. The opening sentence of all might, if the exercise were not curious rather than profitable, be arranged, clause by clause, with a parallelism as elaborate as would become any excerpt from the Hebrew Bible. But it would be unjust to the author to imply that he thought first of the form, and only secondly of the matter. He has himself (xli. 2) recognised the dangers of what we may term over-rhythm. It must, however, be admitted that late rhetoricians (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example) sometimes lay themselves open to misconception when they describe the style of the great literary models. They are too apt to speak as if something like their own process of analysis had preceded and governed the original act of construction. They remind us of those who, in an analytical age like our own, find hexameter lines in the Authorised Version of the Scriptures: *He poureth contempt upon princes and weakeneth the strength of the mighty*, and *God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet*. Only, in Greek the recognised varieties of metre and metrical feet are so much more numerous than

<sup>1</sup> In this respect the treatise should be compared, in English, with the prose not of the nineteenth but of the seventeenth century, that of Milton for example. Modern Italian can also reproduce effectively the fine roll and cadence of its sonorous sentences.

in English that the most ingenious writer could hardly hope to avoid the toils of the enthusiastic and leisured analyst of a later day. With regard to the *De Sublimitate* in particular it will be enough here to add that its rhythms seem sometimes (e.g. vii. 4, xiv. 3, xxxv. 3) to be Latin rhythms rather than Greek. Possibly the writer was not conscious of this himself (he makes no pretensions to Latin scholarship, cp. xii. 4), but the fact remains. At the time when he wrote, Rome had begun to make herself felt in the domain of Greek style as well as in other fields. In his own treatise probable examples of Latin influence upon Greek construction and phrasing are: καὶ ὅπῃ τῶν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν (xv. 1, = Lat. *et auditoribus ob oculos ponas*), εἰς καταφρόνησιν ἑαυτοῦ λαμβάνων τὸν παραλογισμόν (xvii. 1, = Lat. *fraudem in contemptum sui trahit, interpretatur ut in contemptum sui dictum*), εἰς ἡθος ἐκλύεται (ix. 15, = Lat. *laxatum in moratam orationem desinit*), and (according to the reading of some MSS.) καὶ οἷον ἐν καταλήψει τηρεῖ (xvii. 3, = Lat. *et quasi in custodia servat, vel retinet*).

Before the question of the vocabulary of the treatise is entered upon, a few grammatical points (chiefly characteristic of post-classical Greek) deserve mention. Such are the uses of the prepositions in: συμπληρωσὶς ἀπὸ (xii. 2), ἡ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις (viii. 1), ἐν ὕψει (xii. 4), ἐν τῷ παραλόγῳ (xxiv. 2), ἐν τῷ γλαφυρῷ πάντη κεκαλλιγραφημένοι (xxxiii. 5), ὑπέρ (xxxix. 1: hardly distinguishable here from περί, whereas in iv. 2 and xxxii. 8 it seems to have its full meaning), διὰ (ix. 12 [bis], xxxiii. 5, xxxix. 1), ἐπὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος (xxxv. 1). The following adverbial expressions with ἐξ are found: ἐξ ἅπαντος (viii. 3), 'on every side,' 'throughout,' 'as an indispensable ingredient'; ἐξ ἅπαντος (xxxiii. 1), 'from every source,' 'imperatively'; ἐξ ὅλου (viii. 4), 'altogether,' 'entirely'; ἐκ περιτοῦ (xxxiv. 2), 'in a singular degree'; ἐκ παντός (ii. 2), 'utterly.' Noteworthy too are: κατ' ἄκρον (xxx. 1), ἐπ' ἄκρον (xxxiv. 4), κατ' ἄκρας (xliv. 6). Again, καίτοι (xxxv. 4) and καίτοιγε (iv. 4, xxxviii. 5) occur in the sense of καίπερ and with the same participial construction. There are also some uses of the article which are worthy of note: ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν (xxii. 1), τὸ κατὰ τάξιν (xxii. 2), τὸ δ' ἐν ὑπεροχῇ (xxxvi. 4), τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀριθμούς (xxiii. 2), κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς (xxi. 1). The insertion and omission of the article, its position in relation to the noun, and its general use in the *De Sublimitate* are decidedly erratic if judged by strict Attic standards.

The first point to be remarked in the vocabulary itself is that, though the treatise is a short one, many words occur in it which are not elsewhere found in extant Greek literature. The following list of

some forty words will, it is hoped, be found fairly accurate and complete :

ἀδιανέμητος (xxii. 3)	καινόςπουδος (v.)
ἀδρεπήβολος (viii. 1)	κατάρνθμος (xli. 1)
ἀναχολή (xxxv. 4)	κατασημαντικός (xxxii. 5)
ἀνθυπαντᾶν (xviii. 1, 2)	καταφέγγω (xxxiv. 4)
ἀντανοίγω (xxxiv. 4)	μεγεθοποιός (xxxix. 4)
ἀντισυμμαχέω (xvii. 1)	μικροποιέω (xli. 1)
ἀπακμή (ix. 15)	μικροποιός (xliii. 6)
ἀπαύξεις (vii. 3)	ὀνομάτιον (xliii. 2)
ἀποκύλισμα (xl. 4)	ποκοειδής (xv. 5)
ἀπόψυχος (xv. 8)	προεμφανίζομαι (xvii. 3)
βιολογέω (ix. 15)	προσέναγχος (xliv. 1)
διακληρονομέω (xii. 4)	προσσεπιθέομαι (xxx. 1)
διαριστεύομαι (xiii. 4)	προσπεριορίζομαι (xxviii. 3)
δυσδαιμονέω (xii. 4)	πρόχρησις (xxvii. 2)
ἐκπάθεια (xxxviii. 3)	συνεμπνέω (ix. 11)
ἐναλήθης (xv. 8)	συοφορβέω (ix. 14)
ἐξέρεισμα (xl. 4)	τοπηγορία (xi. 2)
ἐποικονομία (xi. 2)	ὕψηλοποιός (xxviii. 1)
ἐνπάλαιστρος (xxxiv. 2)	ὕψηλοφανής (xxiv. 1)
ἐπίνεια (xxx. 1)	φορταγωγέω (xliii. 4)

This list has been framed with care because it seems to have an important bearing upon the question of the authorship. The fact that some 40 separate words (or *forms*, if exception be taken to 'words') can be enumerated which occur in this short treatise but occur in no other known writing or body of writings, appears to suggest that the author is not represented by any other surviving work. The argument may not tell quite conclusively against his identification with the historical Longinus, whose fragments are not very considerable, but the negative presumption is great where authors so voluminous as Plutarch or Dionysius of Halicarnassus are concerned. To countervail this marked independence, surely a large number of special coincidences should be required. Can these be produced?

To begin with the historical Longinus. Although the fragments of Longinus cannot be said to be very considerable when compared with the collected works of Dionysius and Plutarch, yet Vaucher is able to muster 1335 words from those fragments for comparison with

2220 words drawn from the *περὶ ὕψους*. And as the result of a minute and exhaustive analysis (*Études*, pp. 68—79) he concludes that the vocabulary in the two cases is marked by divergence rather than by agreement. With regard to the style generally he is of the same opinion<sup>1</sup>. The arguments on which he relies seem cogent enough. But it is only right to remember that all evidence of this kind must be received with great reserve. In comparisons founded upon style and vocabulary there are many uncertainties. There is the fact that critics disagree so widely in their judgments upon such matters. There is also the fact that an author's manner of expressing himself may, during one period of his life or when he is writing upon one subject, differ altogether from that which characterises him during another period of his life or when writing upon another subject<sup>2</sup>. There is, further, the danger of incomplete investigation. To illustrate this last point, it may be mentioned that it was once urged, as evidence of the traditional ascription, that the word *ἀλληγορία*, found in the treatise, did not occur before Plutarch's time. This often-repeated statement was a rash one in any case, in view of the fact that we possess only a few fragments of the writings of antiquity, but it did not even take full account of the materials we actually possess. As a matter of fact, the word occurs twice in Cicero, by whom it was probably derived from Stoic sources.

These and similar considerations apply to Vaucher's arguments from style when they lead to a positive no less than when they lead to a negative conclusion. If they are precarious in the one case, they are precarious in the other also. Many of the verbal coincidences (see Vaucher, *op. cit.* pp. 96 ff.) which strengthen Vaucher's belief

<sup>1</sup> Vaucher, *op. cit.* p. 50: *la différence sensible que l'on remarque entre le style simple et égal des fragments de Longin, et le style animé, véhément, figuré du Traité περὶ ὕψους, dont le sujet, quoi qu'il en dise, ne prêtait pas plus à l'éloquence que ceux des Fragments.* Ruhnken, it is true, took another view, but he is not supported in it by his modern successor Cobet. See further in the Literary Appendix under *Longinus*.

<sup>2</sup> A signal instance of such variation in our own day is afforded by the style of Thomas Carlyle. Suppose that nearly two thousand years had passed since he wrote, and with what confidence we can imagine the position assumed and maintained that Carlyle the Edinburgh reviewer and Carlyle the philosopher of Chelsea could not possibly be identical. Treacherous always, such comparisons are doubly treacherous when they concern men of marked individuality who have been driven, more and more, into themselves by the circumstances of the times in which they live.

that Plutarch is the author of the *περὶ ὕψους* may be explained by the supposition that the two writers lived about the same time, and were, both of them, greatly influenced by Plato. As examples of words for the most part rare in other authors but found alike in Plato, Plutarch and the *περὶ ὕψους*, the following may be given:—

αἰσχυνητρός (iv. 4)	ἰδιωτεύειν (xxxī. 2)
ἀποσκιάζειν (xvii. 3)	καταισχύνειν (xliii. 5)
ἀποχετεύειν (xliii. 3)	κηλεῖν (xxxix. 5)
ἀσχημονεῖν (iii. 5)	λείψανον (ix. 12)
βακχεία (xxxii. 7)	λήψις (x. 3)
δείνωσις (xi. 2)	μεγαλαυχία (vii. 2)
δημώδης (xl. 2, 3)	μεγαλοπρεπής (xii. 3)
διακριβοῦν (xvi. 1)	μεγαλοφροσύνη (vii. 3)
διαλανθάνειν (xvii. 1)	μεγαλόφρων (ix. 2)
διαπτύσσειν (xxx. 1)	μεγαλοψυχία (vii. 1)
διήκειν (xliv. 9)	μυθολογεῖν (xxxiv. 2)
διστάζειν (xxviii. 1)	μυθώδης (ix. 13)
δουλοπρεπής (ix. 3)	νικητήρια (xxxvi. 2)
ἐγκύμων (ix. 1)	νόημα (xii. 1)
ἐδραῖος (xl. 4)	νόησις (iii. 4)
εἰδωλοποιεῖν (xv. 7)	ξηρότης (iii. 3)
ἐκπληροῦν (xl. 1)	οἰδεῖν (iii. 1)
ἐκφρων (xxxix. 2)	ὀξύρροπος (xviii. 1)
ἐμπίπτειν (ix. 4)	ὀρχηστικός (xli. 1)
ἐνάργεια (xv. 2)	ὀχληρός (ix. 10)
ἐνθουσιᾶν (iii. 2)	ὀψοποιῖα (xliii. 4)
ἐξυβρίζειν (xliii. 5)	παιδαριώδης (iv. 1)
ἐπίκηρος (xxix. 1)	παντελής (xxii. 4)
ἐπικίνδυνος (ii. 2)	πάντη (i. 4)
ἐπικρατεῖν (xvii. 1)	πάντως (i. 2)
ἐπικρίνειν (xii. 4)	παραβολή (xxvii. 1)
ἐπισφαλής (xxxiii. 2)	παραλλάττειν (xi. 3)
ἐπίχαρις (xxxiv. 3)	παρεικάζειν (ix. 13)
ἔρανος (xl. 1)	παρολιγωρεῖν (xxiii. 2)
εὐβουλία (ii. 3)	πέλαγος (xii. 2)
ἐφικτός (xxxix. 1)	περιμάχητος (xxxviii. 3)
ζωγραφία (xvii. 3)	περιουσία (xxxiv. 4)
ἥδυσμα (xliii. 4)	περιττεύειν (xxxv. 1)
ἡρεμεῖν (xx. 2)	περιφρονεῖν (vii. 1)
θρεπτικός (xxxī. 1)	πηροῦν (xlii. 1)

πρωτεία (xiii. 4)	ὑπεροχή (xxxvi. 4)
συγκινδυνεύειν (ix. 6)	ὑπερφυῶς (xliii. 2)
συνεκρίπτειν (xli. 1)	ὑπόγυος (xviii. 2)
συνεπικρίνειν (i. 2)	φιλόνεικος (xiii. 4)
συνεπισπᾶσθαι (xxii. 3)	φιλοχρηματία (xliv. 6)
σωματοειδής (xxiv. 1)	χαῦνος (vii. 1)
τεχνίτης (xvii. 1)	χειμάρρους (xxxii. 1)
ὑπεναντίος (iii. 4)	χρησμοφδεῖν (xiii. 2)
ὑπεραίρειν (iii. 4)	

Such a list seems to show that it was from Plato that the author of the *περὶ ὕψους* derived his love of compound and semi-poetical words and his desire (as indicated in his ἀπαξ εἰρημένα) to fashion words of the same kind himself. But it does not show, or even create a presumption, that Plutarch wrote the treatise. For there are comparatively few verbal correspondences between the *περὶ ὕψους* and Plutarch which cannot be proved to have their origin in Plato, while there are many words in the *περὶ ὕψους*, short as it is, which are not found in Plutarch's writings, extensive as those are.

The *Sprachstatistik* of the *περὶ ὕψους*, as of so many other works, is of interest for its bearing on the affinities, rather than on the paternity, of the treatise. The distant descent of the book from Plato is abundantly clear<sup>1</sup>. Clear also are the traces it exhibits of Polybian diction in such words as ἀνεπιστάτως (xxxiii. 4), παράπτωμα (xxxvi. 2), ῥωπικός (iii. 4), ἰσχυροποιέω (xii. 2), παιδομαθής (xli. 3). But this is no more than to say that it is in the current of that non-classical speech which sets in so markedly with Polybius. Its affinities with Philo, a much later writer than Polybius and possibly a contemporary of our author, are also noteworthy, though Plato (as in the case of Plutarch and the *περὶ ὕψους*) can often be shown to be the common fount. Examples will be found not only in the passage quoted in the Introduction (p. 13 supra), but in single words such as:—

ἀγεληδόν (xxiii. 4)	εἰδοποιῖα (xviii. 1)
ἀνερμάτιστος (ii. 2: cp. Plat.)	εἰκονογραφεῖν (x. 6)
ἀντισπᾶσθαι (xxii. 1)	εἶρμός (xxii. 1)
διαπτύσσειν (xxx. 1)	ἐκτιμᾶν (xliv. 7)

<sup>1</sup> To the words already given might be added such expressions as: ἀνερμάτιστος (ii. 2; *Theaet.* 144 A), καταντλεῖν (xii. 5; *Rep.* I. 344 D), ἀψοφητὶ ῥέων (xiii. 1; *Theaet.* 144 B), ὕπακρος (xxxiv. 1; *Erast.* 136 A,—if this dialogue is Platonic).

ἐπάλληλος (ix. 13)	πάμφυρτος (ix. 7)
ἐπιπροσθεῖν (xxxii. 2)	παράστημα (ix. 1)
ἡρεμεῖν (xx. 2)	περιλάμπεσθαι (xv. 11)
κατασκελετεύειν (ii. 1)	προκόσμημα (xliii. 3)
κονδυλίζειν (xliv. 4)	προσσυπογράφειν (xiv. 2)
μαγειρεῖον (xliii. 3)	προὔποκεῖσθαι (viii. 1)
νεοττοποιεῖσθαι (xliv. 7)	τεκμηριῶν (xxviii. 2)

The verbal coincidences between Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the *περὶ ὕψους* are less marked where general vocabulary is in question, Dionysius belonging to a different school of writing. But where the technical terms of rhetoric are concerned, there are (as will appear in the Select Glossary) many links between the treatise and Latin writers such as Cicero and Quintilian, and between it and Greek writers such as Dionysius and (probably) Caecilius. Henry Nettleship (*Lectures and Essays*, Second Series, p. 56) rightly noticed in Graeco-Roman literary criticism the growth of a number of new aesthetic terms such as: *τραχύς*, *αὐστηρός*, *αὐθάδης*, *αὐχμηρός*, *ἐὶπινής*, *στρυφνός*, *συνεσπασμένος*, *ἀντίτυπος*, *ἀρχαῖκος*, *πυκνός*, *δεινός*, *συστρέφειν*, *ἀξιώματικός*, *τραγικός*, *σεμνός*, *δαιμόνιος*, *πνεῦμα*, *χάρις*, *Ἀφροδίτη*, *γλαφυρός*, *ἀνθηρός*, *στρογγύλος*, *κτενίζω*, *βοστρυχίζω*, *ἡδονή*, *πειθώ*, *ῥώμη*, *ἰσχὺς*, *ἀφελής*, *μεγαλοφυής*, *μεγαλοπρεπής*, *περιπτός*. Of such terms not a few are found in the *περὶ ὕψους*.—It should be added here that, in the absence of special lexicons to some of the authors just mentioned, it has not been found possible to present an exhaustive statement of all the linguistic questions that arise. But some help has been derived from the following special studies: B. Weissenberger, *Die Sprache Plutarchs von Chaeronea und die pseudo-plutarchischen Schriften* (2 parts: Straubing, 1895 and 1896); C. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria* (Jena, 1875); L. Goetzeler, *De Polybii Elocutione* (Wirceburgi, 1887).

It is hoped that the Select Glossary may serve as a supplement to the translation, and in order to further this object a few miscellaneous words have been included in it. In the main, however, it will be found to be confined to rhetorical terms.



SELECT GLOSSARY CHIEFLY OF RHETORICAL  
TERMS.

**ἀγχίστροφος.** ix. 13, xxvii. 3, xxii. 1 (*ἀγχιστρόφος*). Often used by the rhetoricians to signify rapidity of transition in thought or expression. Its general meaning of 'suddenly changing' may be illustrated by *ἀγχίστροφος μεταβολή* Thucyd. ii. 53, and by *ἀστάθμητόν ἐστιν εὐτυχία πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀγχίστροφον* Dionys. Hal. *Antiqq. Rom.* iv. 23.

**ἀγών.** xv. 1, xxvi. 3. A *contest* in the assembly or the law-court, and the lively qualities appropriate to such a contest. In xxvi. 3, *ἀγῶνος ἔμπλεως* is said of a hearer who is, as it were, made to participate in what is being described. Similarly, the adjective *ἀγωνιστικός* (xxii. 3, xxiii. 1) refers to the vehemence of public debate. Cp. *ἐναγώνιος* (ix. 13, xv. 9, xxv., xxvi. 1), *ἐναγωνίως* (xviii. 2). Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 1) distinguishes between *γραφικὴ λέξις* and *ἀγωνιστικὴ λέξις*.

**ἀδρεπήβολος.** τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον, viii. 1. *The power of forming great conceptions*: cp. τὸ μεγαλοφύες, ix. 1, ἀδρότερον, xl. 4.—*ἀδρός*, 'noble,' is an alternative for *δεινός*, 'vehement,' in the triple classification of varieties of style which some of the Greek rhetoricians (other than Dionysius of Halicarnassus) adopt, viz. (1) *ἀδρὸν ἢ δεινόν*, (2) *ἰσχνὸν ἢ λιτόν*, (3) *μέσον ἢ ἀνθηρόν* (cp. Cic. *Orator*, v. 20 ff., *grandiloqui, tenues et acuti, temperati*; Quintil. *Inst. Or.* xii. 10, 57—65, *grande atque robustum, subtile, medium*. Sandys' notes on the former passage should be consulted).

**ἀθροισμός.** xxiii. 1. = *συναθροισμός*, *congeries*, *συναγωγή τῶν παραγμένων ἢ παραχθῆναι δυναμένων εἰς ἓν κεφάλαιον*: Alexand. *περὶ σχημάτων* (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, iii. 17), where an illustrative extract is given from Demosth. *de Cor.* p. 248. Cp. Quintil. viii. 4, 27.

**ἀλληγορία.** ix. 7. The word is to be understood, like *ὑπόνοια*, of the inner meaning of a fable. Cp. Plut. *De audiendis poetis* p. 19 E, where it is stated that *ἀλληγορία* had supplanted *ὑπόνοια* in this sense. [*ὑπόνοια* occurs in π. ὑψ. xvii. 1, 2 with the meaning *secret feeling*.] The use here of *ἀλληγορία* has, as already noted (p. 190 supra), been wrongly thought to indicate late authorship. The passages of Cicero in which it is found are *Orat.* xxvii. 94;

*ad Att.* ii. 20, 3. F. A. Wolf (*Litterarische Analekten*, iv. 526) pointed out the error.

With the passage in *De Sublim.* ix. 7, cp. Heraclitus, *All. Hom.* i πάντως γὰρ ἠσέβησεν (sc. Ὅμηρος) εἰ μηδὲν ἠλληγόρησεν.

ἀμέλει. xii. 1, xlv. 1. *No doubt, surely, you know.* In two passages the meaning seems to approximate to 'for instance,' viii. 1 (ὥς καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀμέλει), xxxiv. 2 (ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Λητῶ ποιητικώτερα).

ἀναλαμβάνειν. xlv. 11. The meaning is 'to recover oneself.' Cp. Thucyd. vi. 26, ἄρτι δ' ἀνελήφει ἡ πόλις ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου. Medical writers use the word absolutely, and so does Plato, *Rep.* v. 467 B.

ἀναφορά. xx. 1. The *repetition* of a word, clause after clause. Lat. *repetitio* (Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 3, 29). Ἐπαναφορά in the same sense, xx. 2.

ἀποστροφή. xvi. 2. The figure *apostrophe*. The term is applied by the author to Demosthenes' adjuration, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας. Cp. Quintil. ix. 2, 38; aversus quoque a iudice sermo, qui dicitur ἀποστροφή, mire movet, sive adversarios invadimus, sive ad invocationem aliquam convertimur, sive ad invidiosam implorationem.

ἀστεῖσμοί. xxxiv. 2. *ioci urbani*.

ἀσύνδετα, τά. xx. 1. *Asyndeta*; broken sentences, sentences without copulatives. Illustrated in xx. 1 from the *Meidias* of Demosthenes. The author has previously (vii. 4) supplied a good example of his own.

αὔξησις. xi. 1, 2, xii. 1. *Amplification*. Cp. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 12, 4.

αὐτίκα. xxiii. 2. Sometimes interpreted here in the 'Attic' sense 'for example.' Such an imitation of Plato would be in keeping with the predilections of our author.

αὐτόθεν. xiii. 2, xiv. 3, xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 1. A favourite word of the author in the sense *at the time, at once*. Cp. Shilleto's note on Thucyd. i. 141, 1.

ἀφέλεια. xxxiv. 2. *Plain, simple style*. Of this style Lysias was accounted the chief exemplar.

βάθος. ii. 1, εἰ ἔστιν ὕψους τις ἢ βάθους τέχνη. These words seem capable of bearing either of two meanings: (1) 'whether there is such a thing as an art of the sublime or its opposite.' Cp. 'Martinus Scriblerus περὶ βάθους: or, Or of the Art of Sinking in

Poetry' (Elwin and Courthope's edition of Pope's *Works*, x. pp. 344—409), which skit may be regarded as a kind of parody of the Treatise on the Sublime. (2) 'whether there is an art of the lofty or profound,' the two words indicating the same thing from different points of view. Cp. Coleridge, *Table Talk*, p. 79 (H. Morley's edition): 'Think of the sublimity, I should rather say the profundity, of that passage in Ezekiel (xxxvii. 3), "Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest."'

γλαφυρός. x. 6, xxxiii. 5. *Elegant, polished.* Cp. Plut. *Mar. Vit.* iii. τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν κώμῃ Κιρραιάτωνι τῆς Ἀρπίνης δίαίταν εἶχε, πρὸς μὲν ἀστεῖον καὶ γλαφυρὸν βίον ἀγροικότερον, σώφρονα δὲ καὶ ταῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαίων τροφαῖς ἐοικῶσαν. Dionys. Hal. (*de Comp. Verb.* xxi.) distinguishes three styles, viz. (1) αὐστηρόν, (2) γλαφυρὸν ἢ ἀνθηρόν, (3) κοινόν.

γλωττόκομον. xliv. 5. *Case, cage.* The word is very rare in Attic Greek, and is only found in its literal meaning, viz. the 'tongue-case' of a clarinet. In Old Testament Greek it is used for 'ark'; in the New Testament (*Gospel of St John*, xii. 6, xiii. 29) it is applied to the 'bag,' or rather 'chest,' which Judas had. In still later Greek it meant a 'coffin'; in Modern Greek it is used of a 'purse.' Cp. Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 42.—A comparatively early instance of its use in the sense of 'coffer' will be found in Grenfell's *Greek Papyri chiefly Ptolemaic*, p. 33.

γούν. xv. 4, xxxviii. 2, xliii. 1. This particle shades off into the meaning *to give an instance, for example*.—The author is also, it may here be noted, somewhat inclined to the epideictic collocation γε μὴν (xxiii. 1, xxvii. 1), when introducing a fresh point in his exposition.

δεινότης. xii. 4. *Oratorical power or intensity.* A quality attributed to Demosthenes above all others. Cp. τὴν ἅπασιν ἀπρόσιτον δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν (xxxiv. 4), δείνωσιν (xi. 2), ταῖς δεινώσεσι (xii. 5), δεδεύωται (iii. 1).

δημώδης. xl. 2, κοινοῖς καὶ δημώδεσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι, *verbis vulgariibus et tritis*.—References to the use of this word in Plato will be found upon consulting the Index (p. 544) to Lutoslawski's *Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*. A glance at Lutoslawski's Index generally will show how much the language of the περὶ ὕψους owes to that of the Platonic dialogues.

διαλεῖν. ii. 2, vii. 1. τὰ διηρμένα = τὰ ὑψηλά. So διάρμα (κεῖται τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐν διάρματι, xii. 1). So also διάρσις (ἡ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ

διάρσει σύνθεσις, viii. 1). This sense of *διάσεις*, and this passage, are not noticed in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (eighth edition). *διάστημα* (xl. 2) has the same meaning of *distinction, elevation, sublimity*.

*διασυρμός*. xxxiv. 2, xxxviii. 6. *Elevatio, irrisio*. καί πως ὁ διασυρμός ταπεινότητός ἐστιν αὔξησις, xxxiv. 6. Cp. Coblenz, *De libelli perī ὕψους auctore*, pp. 21, 22.

*διατύπωσις*. xx. 1. *Vivid representation*. Classed as a rhetorical figure, together with *Asyndeton* and *Anaphora*. Cp. Coblenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 20.

*δοξοκοπεῖν*. xxiii. 2. *To crave popularity*. Cp. Plut. *Pericl. Vit.* v. 4, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ τῷφον ἀποκαλοῦντας ὁ Ζήνων παρεκάλει καὶ αὐτοὺς τι τοιοῦτο δοξοκοπεῖν. Can the word convey any notion of 'striking the popular imagination,' 'hitting the fancy'?

*εἶδος*. xxvii. 1. *Species (of figure)*: cp. *εἰδοποιῖται* (xviii. 1). *εἶδη* (xiii. 4), *beautiful forms*. τὰ ἐπ' εἶδους (xiii. 3), *the particulars*: cp. ἐπ' εἶδους (xliii. 6). In a similar sense τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους, *the several details* (i. 2).

*εἰδωλοποιεῖν*. xv. 7. *To form an image, to represent by an image*. So *εἰδωλοποιῖται* (xv. 1), *images formed in the mind*. In xiv. 1 by *ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα μέτρα* are meant *standards conceived in the mind*. Cp. Hermogenes, *Progymn.* (Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, i. 45) *εἰδωλοποιῖαν δὲ φασιν ἐκείνο, ὅταν τοῖς τεθνεῶσι λόγους περιάπτωμεν*.

*εἰκόνες*. xxxvii. *Images, similes*. In the same fragmentary chapter cp. *μεταφοραὶ* = *metaphors*, and *παραβολαὶ* = *comparisons*.

*ἐμπρακτος*. xi. 2, xv. 8, xviii. 1. *Lively, effective, vehement*. Cp. *ἀγών*, p. 194 *supra*.

*ἐμφερόμενα*. x. 1 (e coniect. Toll.), xii. 2. *The constituent parts of a thing*. The use is noted in Stephanus (Hase—G. et L. Dindorf), but not in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.

*ἐνάργεια*. xv. 2. *Clearness, vividness*. Cp. Dionys. Hal. *de Lysia*, vii. : ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐνάργειαν πολλὴν ἢ Δυσίου λέξις· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ δύναμις τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα, γίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν παρακολουθούντων λήψεως. See also Quintil. *Inst. Or.* viii. 3, 62. [The meaning of the passage from Dionysius is well given by one of the French translators: *Le style de Lysias est aussi très vivant*;

*cette qualité, c'est le talent de rendre sensible ce que l'on dit, et elle vient de l'emploi des détails accessoires.]*

**ἐνέργημα.** xxxix. 3. *ἐνεργήματα γνήσια, genuine activities.* Cp. Polyb. iv. 8, 7.

**ἐνθεν ἑλὼν.** xxxiv. 4. This rhapsodical formula is echoed from Homer: cp. *Odyssey*, viii. 500, where the meaning is 'taking up the story at the point where.' Here the meaning seems to be quite general, 'drew as from a store'; if there is a particular reference in the *ἐνθεν*, it will be to Thucydides rather than to Hyperides. The passage in which the phrase occurs is a notoriously difficult one, and has led to many conjectural restorations.

**ἐνσπαργανόω.** xlv. 3. *To enwrap as in swaddling-clothes.* Cp. p. 13 supra.

**ἐντάφιον.** ix. 10. *Shroud, winding-sheet:* as in Simonides' epigram, ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρὼς | οὐθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμανρώσει χρόνος.

**ἐπέγει.** xliii. 6, οὐκ...ἐπείγει. Intransitive: *there is no hurry, no urgent need.* Cp. Plut. *Sert. Vit.* iii. 2, τὰ ἐπείγοντα, *pressing matters or business.* Examples of the use might be added from Arrian, Josephus, and Diodorus Siculus.

**ἐπέχειν.** ix. 10, xlv. 1. *To cover, overspread.* ix. 1, xlv. 12, μοῖραν ἐπέχειν, *to cover a large part, hold a foremost rank.* In Dionys. Hal. *Antiqq. Rom.* v. 67, προσθήκης μοῖραν ἐπέχειν means 'to act as auxiliaries,' 'to fill the rôle of supernumeraries.' The imperfect account which Liddell and Scott take of the language of the *περὶ ὕψους* is illustrated again in their article on this word.

**ἐπιγέννημα.** vi. καίτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα δύσληπτον· ἡ γὰρ τῶν λόγων κρίσις πολλῆς ἐστι πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα: or as Canna gives the sentence, *Ardua cosa veramente: perocchè il giudizio degli scritti è di molta esperienza l'ultimo frutto.* Perhaps here, as elsewhere in the *περὶ ὕψους*, we have an echo of Stoic phraseology. Examples of such coincidence are given by F. Striller in his *De Stoicorum studiis rhetoricis*; and instances of similar agreement in tone and sentiment might be added from Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius in illustration of such chapters as xxxv. and xlv.

**ἐπιδεικτικός.** xii. 5. *Declamatory.* The ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος is well known as one of the three Aristotelian divisions of rhetoric (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 3).

ἐπιλογος. xii. 5. *Peroration*. Cp. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 13, 3, 4; iii. 19, 1.

ἐπιμονή. xii. 2. The word is defined in the *Rhetoric* of Alexander (Spengel, *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 17, 28) as follows: ἐπιμονή δέ ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα δηλοῖ, ἐπὶ πλείον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νοήματος ἐπιμονή μετὰ ἀνέξεως. Cp. M. Rothstein, *Hermes*, xxiii. 17.

ἐπιχείρησις. xv. 9. *Dialectical reasoning*. Cp. Dionys. Hal. *ad Amm. Ep.* i. viii. The word came down to the rhetorical schools from Aristotle.

ἔρανος. xl. 2, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις ἔρανος ἐστὶ πλῆθους τὰ μεγέθη. The sense is that given by Meinel, 'Darum kann man sagen, dass in den Perioden die Grösse ein Erträgnis der Vielheit ist'; or by Canna, 'Onde si può dire che nei periodi la nobiltà viene da molte cose contribuita.' The verb ἐρανίζεν is found in xx. 1.

ἐρώτησις. xviii. 1, τὰς πύσεις τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις, *interrogations and questions*. The distinction intended by the writers on rhetoric apparently is that of a series of questions as contrasted with an isolated one. Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 6—8, and Cic. *Orator*, xl. 137 (with Sandys' notes).

εὐπίνεια. xxx. 1. *A fine old style*. The metaphor is that of a statue mellowed—with all its harshnesses toned down—by age. Liddell and Scott compare *nitor obsoletus* (Auct. ad Herenn. iv. 34, 46).

ἐφηδύνειν. xv. 6, xxxiv. 2. A word used more than once by Plutarch in the sense *to impart a relish, to season*. The uncompounded verb occurs in one of the best known passages of the *Poetics*, vi. 2, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις. In the περὶ ὕψους xxxiv. 2, λιτῶς ἐφηδυνόμενον may be translated *with a slight, unobtrusive relish*, the reference being to the ἀφέλεια which Hyperides could command at need. [λιτὸς is Aristotelian and post-Attic.] In xv. 6 the line of Euripides is regarded as less harsh or crude (ἐφηδύννας ἐξεφώνησεν) than that of Aeschylus. So Mr A. S. Way: 'The metaphor of Aeschylus which made hall and roof not only living things, but living things possessed, probably seemed too violent, too crude a personification of the inanimate. Euripides, on the other hand, does not give an independent personality to the mountain; the soul, the passion, is infused into it by the presence of possessed humanity, and passes from it with their passing.'

ἦθος. ix. 15. *Delineation of character: oratio morata, qua vitam communem imitamur.* Similarly, in the same chapter and section, ἠθικῶς βιολογούμενα and κωμῳδία ἠθολογουμένη. So also τὸ ἠθικόν in c. xxxiv. 2, and ἀνηθοποίητος in c. xxxiv. 3. Cp. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory*<sup>2</sup> etc., 327 ff.

In ἡθοποιία, or power of characterisation, Lysias was eminent among the Attic orators, as we are often reminded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In πάθος, on the other hand, Lysias was deficient. ἦθος, as contrasted with πάθος (cp. π. ὕψ., xxix. 2), was considered a special mark of comedy as distinguished from tragedy. Hence ἐν ἡθεί [sc. τοῦτο ἔφη] = 'in character' or 'humorously' (Rutherford, *Schol. Aristophan.* ii. 442: cp. Plut. *De audiendis poetis*, iv. 20). Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* vi. 2, 8 sq.; Cic. *Orator*, 37, 128. In the passage of Cicero the distinction between the two words is clearly marked: 'quorum alterum est, quod Graeci ἠθικὸν vocant, ad naturas et ad mores et ad omnem vitae consuetudinem accommodatum; alterum, quod iidem παθητικὸν nominant, quo perturbantur animi et concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio.'

ἥρως. iv. 4, xxxvi. 2. *A hero, or demi-god, of literature.* In the first passage Xenophon and Plato are thus described; in the second, Homer, Plato and Demosthenes.

θεοφορεῖσθαι. xiii. 2, xv. 6. A rare word used twice by our author with the meaning *to be possessed*. The word is found in Philo.

ιδιώτης. xxxi. 2, ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγγὺς παραξύνει τὸν ιδιώτην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ιδιωτεύει τῷ σημαντικῶς. It is perhaps best to supply λόγον with τὸν ιδιώτην, but it is not absolutely necessary to do so, since by 'the plain man' may be understood the plain man's speech: cp. Dionys. Hal. *de Lys.* iii. p. 457. With ιδιώτης and ιδιωτεύειν, as used of ordinary or common speech, cp. ιδιωτισμός (π. ὕψ., xxxi. 1) and ιδιωτικός (xliii. 1). ιδιώτης λόγος will be found conjoined in Dionys. Hal. *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosth.* c. ii.

καινόςπουδος. v., τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόςπουδον. *Die Jagd nach neuen Gedanken* (Meinel), *la sollecitudine di trovare concetti nuovi* (Canna). The word is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. Vaucher (*Études*, pp. 152 and 410) suggests κενόςπουδον, an adjective found more than once in Plutarch. Cobet (*Mnemosyne*, N. S. x. p. 320), without Vaucher's bias in favour of a Plutarchic word, would also read κενόςπουδον. But the expressive and original καινόςπουδον seems to bear the stamp of its own genuineness upon it.

**κακόζηλος.** iii. 4, τὸ κακόζηλον, *affectation, preciosity*. The first writer, as far as we know, to use this term was Neanthes Cyzicenus (B.C. 240 circ.). It is somewhat remarkable that it does not occur in Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Quintilian, on the contrary, has it and defines it<sup>1</sup>. It is found, too, in other Latin writers of the first century A.D., and in Greek writers of the second and third. It sometimes approaches the meaning of *bad style* generally. Cp. Vaucher, *Études*, p. 87, Reuter, *De Quintiliani libro qui fuit de causis corruptae eloquentiae*, pp. 5 et seqq.—For ζήλος, as applied to *style*, see *American Journal of Philology*, xviii. p. 305.

**κανονίζειν.** xvi. 4. *To apply a rule, to measure*. Cp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 3, 8: κανονίζομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον οἱ δ' ἥττον, ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ, i.e. we make pleasure and pain the standard of our actions.

**κατακερματίζειν.** xlii. 1. *To divide a narrative into small sections*: εἰς μικρὰς κατακερματιζομένη τομὰς ἡ διήγησις, Dionys. Hal. *de Thucyd.* ix. p. 828. The word properly means *to change into small coin*, and is one of the many expressions which our author copies from Plato. Cp. Pl. *Rep.* iii. p. 395 B, φαίνεται μοι εἰς σμικρότερα κατακερματίζεσθαι ἢ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φύσις. Demetrius (*de Eloc.* c. iv.; Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, iii. 260) has: κατακεκομμένη γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ σύνθεσις καὶ κεκερματισμένη, καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος διὰ τὸ μικρὰ σύμπαντα ἔχειν.

**κατακορής.** xxii. 3, ἐν τῷ γένει τούτῳ κατακορέστατος, *most insatiable*. Again a favourite Platonic word: cp. παρρησία κατακορεῖ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη, *Phaedr.* 240 E.—ὑπερκορής in the same sense in Herondas, *Mimiambi*, v. 1.

**καταρχαιρεσιάζειν.** xliv. 9, καὶ μὴ καταρχαιρεσιάζεσθαι πρὸς τῆς τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας. *To corrupt in an election or other public action*. The word is used by Plutarch (*C. Gracch. Vit.* xi.) in the more natural sense of gaining an (unfair) electoral triumph over an opponent.

**κατασκελετεύειν.** ii. 1, ταῖς τεχνολογίαις κατασκελετευόμενα, *reduced to skeletons, robbed of flesh and blood, by technical precepts*. One of those bold metaphors which our author affects. The word is used in its literal sense by Plutarch.

<sup>1</sup> Quint. *Inst. Or.* viii. 3, 56. 'Κακόζηλον, id est mala adfectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat: nam et tumida et pusilla et praedulcia et abundantia et arcessita et exultantia sub idem nomen cadunt.'



**κατόρθωμα.** xxxiii. 1. xxxiv. 1. xxxvi. 2: cp. *συνταγμάτων κατόρθωσις*, c. v. The word is applied by the rhetorical writers (cp. Dionys. Hal. *de Thucyd.* xlviii. p. 932) to a style which hits the mark not by chance but by due observance of rule. The term is, in fact, borrowed from the realm of morals (cp. Arist. *Magna Mor.* ii. 3, 2), and transferred to literature in the same sense of a success following on right judgment.

**κλίμαξ.** xxiii. 1. *Climax*; Lat. *gradatio*. A good illustration of climax (and of asyndeton) is Cicero's *abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit*. Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 3, 55.

**κλοπή.** xiii. 4. *Literary theft, plagiarism*. The expression (ἔστι δ' οὐ κλοπὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα, xiii. 4) is used of the relation of Plato to Homer, the whole subject being handled in a singularly liberal and discriminating spirit: cp. the remarks in ch. xvi. as to the oath of Eupolis and that of Demosthenes.

**κυριολογία.** xxviii. 1. *Authorised language, normal diction*; the equivalent given in xxviii. 2 is ψιλὴ λέξις, *unadorned language*. Cp. Dionys. Hal. *de Lysia*, iii. κύρια καὶ κοινὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενα ὀνόματα. The contrast intended is that between an ordinary lucid style and one that is metaphorical and elaborate. The distinction derives from Aristotle: cp. *Poetics*, xxii. 8, διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις ποιεῖ τὸ μὴ ιδιωτικὸν ἐν τῇ λέξει ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

**κώδων.** xxiii. 4, ἐπεὶ τοι τὸ πανταχοῦ κώδωνας ἐξῆφθαι λίαν σοφιστικόν, 'for to have bells suspended at every point is the height of affectation.' The reference is to excessive ornamentation of style; the metaphor is that of the tinkling bells which formed part of the head-gear of a charger in a festal procession.

The expression seems to be as old as [Demosthenes]: καὶ ἃ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ἕκαστος ἀποφητὶ ποιεῖ ταῦθ' οὗτος μόνον οὐ κώδωνας ἐξαψάμενος διαπράττεται (c. *Aristog.* A, 797. 12). For another coincidence with Demosthenes, cp. *De Subl.* ix. 3 with *Olynth.* iii. 32.

**λήμμα.** x. 1, xi. 3, xv. 10, xl. 4, xliii. 1. In all these passages, although the meaning may sometimes perhaps be best expressed by the rendering 'details' or 'particulars,' the root idea seems to be that of the 'assumption' or 'idea' or 'matter' of a sentence as opposed to their expression in language. Cp. Dionys. Hal. *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosth.* xx. p. 1013, ἐν τούτοις οὐ μέμφομαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ

λήμματος· γενναία γὰρ ἡ διάνοια καὶ δυναμένη κινήσαι πάθος· τὸ δὲ τῆς λέξεως λείον καὶ μαλακὸν αἰτιῶμαι.

**λόγοι.** ii. 3, iii. 1, v., vi., vii. 1, 3, 4, xv. 2, 9, xvii. 3, xxxiii. 1 (*bis*), xxxvi. 1, xlv. 1 (*bis*). In these passages *λόγοι* may be rendered by such equivalents as *diction, style, discourse, language, composition*. It is probably the nearest Greek equivalent for *literature*, though more especially applied to *prose writings* (cp. ἐν ποιήμασι καὶ λόγοις, vii. 1, xv. 2); sometimes the word oscillates in one and the same passage between the broader and the more restricted sense (cp. vii. 1, 3 and xxxiii. 1). In xlv. 1 λόγων ἀφορία denotes the dearth of high utterance, of 'eloquence' in the best sense. In iii. 1 λόγοι ἀληθινοί = *the narration of fact*.

**μεγαλοφροσύνη.** vii. 3, ix. 2, xiv. 1, xv. 12. *Greatness of soul, elevated conception*.

**μεγεθοποιεῖν.** xl. 1. *To invest with sublimity* (cp. ὑψοῦν). The converse expression is μικροποιεῖν, xli. 1.

**μέλος.** iii. 1, τὸ παρὰ μέλος οἶδεῖν, *tasteless tumidity*. Cp. εἰ πὰρ μέλος ἔρχομαι, Pind. *Nem.* vii. 101; παρὰ μέλος φθέγγεσθαι, Plat. *Phileb.* 28 B. The same metaphor occurs in πλημμελεῖν.

**μέρος.** xii. 5, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἄλλοις μέρεσιν ἁρμόδιος. *Kinds of style, departments of literature*. Cp. Latin *genus*.

**μεταβολή.** v., xxiii. 1. *Variety of style*: cp. Dionys. Hal. *Ep. ad Cn. Romp.* iii. p. 772, ὡς ἡδὺν χρῆμα ἐν ἱστορίαις γραφῆς μεταβολὴ καὶ ποικίλον. The same idea repeated in an altered form would constitute a μεταβολή. Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 3, 38: 'hanc rerum coniunctam diversitatem Caecilius μεταβολὴν vocat.' In his *History of Greece* (III. 443, Engl. Trans.) Adolf Holm has an interesting note upon the μεταβολαί, or rapid emotional transitions, of Demosthenes.

**μήποτε.** iii. 4, xxxviii. 3, xl. 2, xlv. 10. *Perhaps*. The expression has a less abbreviated form in xxxiii. 2, μήποτε δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ᾗ, where the ellipse is obvious: cp. μὴ καὶ περιττὸν ᾗ (xxx. 1). This use of μήποτε in the sense of *nescio an* is found as early as Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* x. 1, 3).

**μυκτήρ.** xxxiv. 2. *Irony*. Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* viii. 6, 59: 'μυκτηρισμός, dissimulatus quidam, sed non latens derisus.'

**νᾶνοι.** xlv. 5. *Dwarfs*. The reference to these νᾶνοι, or Πυγμαῖοι, has sometimes been supposed to bear upon the question of the date of the treatise. In the same way, it may be remembered, the

presence of a *nain* (to use the French term) is often interpreted as an indication of the date of the so-called Bayeux tapestry, but only because the addition of the dwarf's name *Turolde* may be taken to imply some contemporary knowledge of the events and persons portrayed. *Souvent, dans une discussion de ce genre, ce sont les moindres détails qui fournissent les meilleures inductions*, as M. l'Abbé J. Laffetay well remarks. But in our treatise, unfortunately, there are few if any significant details to contribute to a solution of the problem of authorship.—Much recondite information with regard to the Pygmies, both in ancient and in modern times, will be found in B. A. Windle's edition of Edward Tyson's 'Philological Essay concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients,' one of the volumes included in Nutt's *Bibliothèque de Carabas*.

**νόησις.** iii. 4, xxx. 1. *Thought, way of thinking.* \**Ennoia* is not uncommonly used by our author in a similar sense, as in ix. 2, *ψιλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ ἐννοία, the bare idea, the mere notion.* In xxvii. 3 *νοῦς* (another word which may conveniently be grouped here) means the *sense of a sentence*, in the phrase *ἐν ἀτελεῖ τῷ νῷ.*

**δῆκος.** viii. 3, xv. 1, xxxix. 4. *Dignity.* So *δῆκος*, *stately*, iii. 1.

**πάθος.** viii. 1, 2, 4, xii. 1, xxxix. 1. The word is not easily rendered into English. *Pathos*, or *emotion*, will sometimes give it; but more often *passion*, in the sense of strong feeling, will be the nearest equivalent. Cp. *τὰ παθητικά* in ii. 2, = 'the pathetic.'

It has been said (Dowden, *History of French Literature*, p. 282) of Vauvenargues that, in an age tending towards an exaggerated homage to reason, he honoured the passions: 'Great thoughts come from the heart'; 'We owe, perhaps, to the passions the greatest gains of the intellect'; 'The passions have taught men reason.' A similar feeling may underlie the attitude of the *περὶ ὕψους* (cp. viii. 4).

**πάντη.** i. 4, viii. 2, xii. 4, xv. 8, xvi. 4, xx. 3, xxii. 1, xxx. 2, xxxiii. 5, xxxvi. 4. *On every side, in every way, altogether.* The adverb is so evidently a favourite with our author that it may be well to give a reference to all the passages in which it occurs. In the use of this word also he is probably imitating Plato.

**πάντως.** i. 2, ii. 3, ix. 3, xii. 1, xvii. 1, xxii. 3. Another favourite adverb, meaning *by all means, absolutely, inevitably, come what may.*

**παράβασις.** xii. 5, xv. 8. A rhetorical term for a *digression*. Cp. 'egressio' and 'excessus' in Latin (Quintil. *Inst. Or.* iii. 9, 4).

**παράγγελμα.** ii. 1, *τεχνικὰ παραγγέλματα, technical rules or precepts.* So *ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν παραγγέλματι* (c. vi.) = 'if I must speak in the way of precept.'

**παράστημα.** ix. 1, *ἐγκύμονας δει.....γενναίου παραστήματος, gravidi semper di generosi sensi* (Canna). The word may best be translated *inspiration*: cp. Dionys. Hal. *Antiqq. Rom.* viii. 39, *θείῳ τινὶ παραστήματι κινήθεισα.*

**παρατράγωδος.** iii. 1. *Pseudo-tragic, bombastic.* The word is applied to burlesque by Plutarch as well as by our author. In vii. 1, *προστραγυδούμενον* is found in a somewhat different sense, with which cp. Strab. *Geograph.* xvii. 1, 43.

**παρένθυρος.** iii. 5. *Misplaced or exaggerated passion.* The term was used by Theodorus: *τρίτον τι κακίας εἶδος ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς, ὅπερ ὁ Θεόδωρος παρένθυρον ἐκάλει. ἔστι δὲ πάθος ἄκαιρον καὶ κενὸν ἔνθα μὴ δεῖ πάθος, ἢ ἄμετρον ἔνθα μετρίον δεῖ* (iii. 5). It looks as if Theodorus had formed the word himself in order to suggest a *faux enthousiasme* (Vaucher) beyond that of the Bacchic devotee. Rothstein (*Hermes*, xxiii. 2) thinks that the form used by Theodorus was probably *τὸ παρένθυρον* rather than *ὁ παρένθυρος*.

**περιέχων.** xxxv. 3, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ περιέχοντος πολλάκις ὄρους ἐκβαίνουσιν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι.* With *ὁ περιέχων* = *atmosphere*, *ἀήρ* or *αἰθήρ* is to be supplied: cp. *ὁ περὶ χθόν' ἔχων φαινὸς αἰθήρ* Eurip. *Fragm.* 911. The meaning here (c. xxxv. 3) is *the physical horizon, the bounds of space* (Canna, *i limiti del mondo*; Meinel, *die Grenzen der Umgebung*). Cp. Lucret. *de Rer. Nat.* i. 74:—

'Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra  
Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi.'

The passage of the *De Sublimitate* has in it much of the loftiness of Sir Thomas Browne: 'Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude, for I am above Atlas's shoulders.....That mass of flesh that circumscribes me limits not my mind.....There is surely a piece of divinity in us—something that was before the elements, and owes no homage unto the sun. He that understands not thus much hath not his introduction or first lesson, and is yet to begin the alphabet of man.'

**περίοδος.** The virtues of the *period* are described with some elaboration in c. xl. But for a short definition we must turn to Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 3: *λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν*

αὐτὴν καθ' αὐτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Comp. Verb.* c. ii.) briefly describes the formation of a period thus: ἡ τούτων (sc. τῶν κώλων) ἁρμονία τὰς καλουμένας συμπληροῖ περιόδους.

**περίστασις.** xxxviii. 3 (*bis*). *Danger, crisis.* A favourite Polybian word, e.g. εἰς πᾶν ἦλθον περιστάσεως (Polyb. iv. 45, 10).

**περίφρασις.** xxviii. 1. Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* viii. 6, 61) gives a definition, together with a Latin equivalent to which he takes exception: 'quidquid significari brevius potest, et cum ornatu latius ostenditur, περίφρασις est, cui nomen latine datum est non sane aptum orationis virtuti *circumlocutio*': cp. viii. 6, 59. See Coblentz, *op. cit.* pp. 32—34.

**πίπτειν.** xxxvi. 1. *Occurs, is found:* cp. πίπτειν εἰς, *cadere in*, xlv. 4. Compare also the compound προσπίπτειν as used in xxi. 1, xxiii. 2, xxix. 1 (ἀβλεμὲς προσπίπτει = *falls flat*), xxxix. 4.

**πολιτικός.** i. 2, ix. 13, xxxiv. 2, xlv. 1. *Political, public;* especially used of *public speech* (*oratio civilis*). Meinel and Canna see a reference to oratory even in i. 2 and xlv. 1. ('Etwas Brauchbares für den Redner,' M.; 'alcuna cosa utile agli oratori,' C.: i. 2. 'Eine Sache öffentlich zu vertreten,' M.; 'periti nelle cause forensi,' C.: xlv. 1.) A good account of the word is given by Coblentz, *De libelli περὶ ὕψους auctore*, pp. 46—50. Cp. also p. 3 of C. Hammer's *Bericht über die auf die griechischen Rhetoren und späteren Sophisten bezüglichen von Anfang 1890 bis Ende 1893 erschienenen Schriften*, in which he reviews C. Brandstaetter's *De notionum πολιτικὸς et σοφιστῆς usu rhetorico*.

**πολύπτωτος.** xxiii. 1. *πολύπτωτα*, rhetorical figures in which many cases (*πτώσεις*) are employed. Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 3, 37, where an illustration is offered from the *Pro Cluentio*, lx. 167.

**πολύφωνος.** xxxiv. 1. *With many tones.* Contrast *μονοτόνως* in the next section of c. xxxiv.—In xxviii. 1 οἱ παράφωνοι is used as a noun, in some such sense as 'accompaniments.'

**πραγματικός.** xv. 9, 10, 11. Used with reference to the *matter or argument* of a speech, as distinguished from the mere expression. Cp. Baudat, *Étude sur Denys d'Halicarnasse*, p. 28 n. 2.

**προηγουμένως.** xl. 12. Either *previously* or *expressly*; both senses are appropriate here, and both can be paralleled from Plutarch.

**προσπίπτειν.** xxi. 1, xxiii. 2, xxix. 1, xxxix. 4, xiv. 1 (conjecturally). *To fall on the ear, to strike one.* A favourite word of the author.

**ρήτωρ.** ix. 3, xi. 2, xxxii. 8. *Orator.* In xii. 3 ὁ ῥήτωρ (*par excellence*) = Demosthenes. In xxx. 1 we have the collocation πασι τοῖς ῥήτορσι καὶ συγγραφεύσι, 'all orators and writers.'

**ῥωπικός.** iii. 4, ἐποκέλλοντες εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον. *Trumpery ornamentation.* An adjective used by Polybius and Plutarch as well as by our author.

**σοφιστής.** iv. 2. The reference is to Isocrates; *rhetorician* would here seem a nearer English equivalent than *sophist*.—In xxiii. 4 the adjective σοφιστικός denotes *affectation, idle ostentation*.

**στόμφος.** iii. 1, xxxii. 7. *Mouthing; high-sounding words; bombast.* Cp. Latin *ampullae*.

**συγγραμμάτιον.** i. 1. *Treatise* had best be retained as being the usual English rendering. But such equivalents as *tractate, tract, pamphlet, memoir, essay, dissertation, disquisition*, have something to be said for them, in so far as they may imply less extent and less system than does the word *treatise*. Canna's *trattatello* seems to be near the mark. See also under the word ὑπόμνημα infra.

**συγγραφεύς.** i. 3, ix. 15, xiii. 2, xl. 2. In these passages the word denotes a *prose-writer* as distinguished from a *poet*. In xxx. 1 the contrast is between it and ῥήτωρ. In xxii. 1 and xxxiii. 1 the word is used, quite generally, for *writer*. It does not seem, in the περὶ ὕψους, to be used in the limited sense of *historian*.

**συγκατάθεσις.** vii. 4. *Assent*: cp. the Stoic use and Cicero's translation of the word in the *Academics* (*Ac. Pr.* ii. 12, 37). In xxxii. 1 συγκατατίθεσθαι = 'to assent,' the author probably having in mind Plat. *Gorg.* 501 C, σὺ δὲ δὴ πότερον συγκατατίθεσαι ἡμῶν περὶ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν, ἢ ἀντίφης;

**συγκοπή.** xlii. *Concision, or truncation, of expression.* The word is contrasted with συντομία, which signifies a proper brevity or compression.—It is worth remark that the use of ἄγαν with a substantive (ἡ ἄγαν συγκοπή in this chapter, and τοῖς ἄγαν πλούτοις in c. xxxiii. 2) is a reminiscence of Platonic usage (cp. ἡ ἄγαν ἐλευθερία, Pl. *Rep.* viii. 564 A).

**συμμορία.** xx. 1. *Partnership.* In this metaphorical use of the word, the author agrees with Josephus who has δειπνοῦντες κατὰ συμμορίας (*Antiqq. Jud.* v. 7, 3).

**σύνολον.** xii. 5, xvii. 1, xliv. 10 τὸ σύνολον = *entirely, altogether*. So

perhaps τὸ ὅλον in the corrupt passage at the end of c. x. Similarly τέλειον in c. xli. ad init.

**σύστασις.** viii. 1. The word plays an important part in the *Poetics*. 'The recurring phrase of the *Poetics*, σύστασις (or σύνθεσις) τῶν πραγμάτων, does not denote a mechanical piecing together of incidents, but a vital union of the parts,' S. H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*<sup>2</sup>, p. 278.—σύνθεσις occurs in viii. 1, xxxiv. 2, etc.; ἐπισύνθεσις in x. 1. These terms naturally vary in dignity with the objects which they are supposed to 'combine' or 'compose.'

**σχολαστικός.** iii. 4. *Trivial, pedantic.* Vaucher (*Études Critiques*, pp. 87, 88) regards this use as indicating a comparatively early date for the treatise.

**σχολικός.** iii. 5, x. 7. *Tedious*; like the discussions of the schools. *Bookish, pedantic, affected.*

**τεχνολογία.** i. 1, ii. 1. *Systematic treatment* of a subject, especially of the subject of rhetoric. The word is used by Cicero, *ad Att.* iv. 16: 'reliqui libri τεχνολογίαν habent, ut scis.' In c. xii. 1 οἱ τεχνολογῆται are *writers on rhetoric*.

**τοπηγορία.** xi. 2, xii. 5, xxxii. 5. *Treatment of τόποι or common-places.*

**τρόποι.** xii. 1, xxxii. 5. *Turns of language, tropes, figures.* Cicero (*Brut.* xvii. 6) gives *verborum immutationes* as a Latin rendering. Cp. ἡ τροπικὴ (viii. 1), τῶν τροπικῶν (xxxii. 2), αἱ τροπικαί (xxxii. 6).

**τύπος.** xiii. 1, ἀνεγνωκὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ τὸν τύπον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς. The meaning is perhaps rather 'his manner' than 'this typical passage.' τύπος also occurs in xii. 2 in the phrase ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν, 'to sum up the matter in a general way,' with which cp. Pl. *Rep.* iii. 414 A, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, μὴ δι' ἀκριβείας, εἰρησθαι.

**ὑπόμνημα.** xxxvi. 4, xlv. 12. *Memoir, tract.* Similarly ὑπομνηματισμός in the title of Dionysius' work περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων ὑπομνηματισμοί. Similarly also the verb ὑπομνηματίζεσθαι in the *De Subl.* i. 2. Cp. F. Blass, *De Dionysii Halicarnassensis Scriptis Rhetoricis*, p. 7: 'ὑπομνηματισμοί opponuntur scholicis praelectionibus, quae longius explicant brevius illic praeposita τοῦ ὑπομνήσαι gratia: cf. Dionys. Hal. *de Dem.* 46, μήποτε ἡ σύνταξις εἰς τοὺς σχολικοὺς ἐκβῇ χαρακτήρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνηματισμῶν.' The passage in

xxxvi. 4 is interesting as showing that the author describes his own book as a *ὑπόμνημα*, or *commentarius*.

*ὑποφέρειν*. xvi. 4. In the Translation τὸν ἀκροατὴν is regarded as object after *ὑποφέρειν*. But the words may be governed by *φθάνων*, and *ὑποφέρειν* may be taken as = 'to add by way of reply,' for which sense cp. Plut., *De audiendis poetis*, p. 73: οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστιν ὑπενεγκεῖν τό·

εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσι φαῦλον, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί.

*ὑψος*. This important word, the key-word of the whole treatise, requires a note of some length.

It is difficult to trace the history of *ὑψος* as a stylistic term. But it was in use among the Atticist writers of the first century B.C. Caecilius had written (being possibly the first to do so) a treatise with the word as a subject and probably as a title (τὸ μὲν τοῦ Κεκιλίου συγγραμμάτιον ὃ περὶ ὕψους συνετάξατο, *De Sublim.*, i. 1). The corresponding adjective is used by Dionysius Hal. in a context which makes its meaning perfectly clear: ὑψηλὴ δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἢ Δυσίου λέξις, *De Lys. Ind.* xiii.<sup>1</sup> With the employment here of the alternative adjective *μεγαλοπρεπὴς* may be compared the fact that the so-called 'Demetrius *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*' (a work sometimes assigned to the first century A.D.) distinguishes the four following styles: *χαρακτήρ ἰσχνός, μεγαλοπρεπής, γλαφυρός, δεινός*. The word *ὑψος* does not, it may be added, occur in the *Rhetoric* of the historical Longinus.

The author of the *περὶ ὕψους* rather describes than defines the quality about which he discourses. But some words in his first chapter (i. 3) make the meaning clear: ἀκρότης καὶ ἐξοχή τις λόγων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ.<sup>2</sup> It has been well said that anything which raises composition above the usual level, or infuses into it uncommon strength, beauty, or vivacity, comes fairly within the scope of his design.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium* ii. 9: παράδειγμα δὲ ποιοῦμαι τῆς γε ὑψηλῆς λέξεως ἐξ ἑνὸς βιβλίου τῶν πάνυ περιβοήτων. The reference is to Plato, and the γε (if this is the right reading, the manuscript variants being considerable) is ironical.

<sup>2</sup> See also xii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Lowth, *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum*, p. 167: 'sublimitatem autem hic intelligo sensu latissimo sumptam: non eam modo quae res grandes magnifico imaginum et verborum apparatu effert; sed illam, quaecumque sit, orationis vim, quae mentem ferit et percellit, quae movet affectus, quae rerum imagines clare et eminenter exprimit; nihil pensi habens, simplici an ornata, exquisita an vulgari dictione utatur: in quo Longinum sequor, gravissimum in hoc argumento et intelligendi et dicendi auctorem.'



use of the corresponding verb (ὑψόω, 'to heighten') should be noted in this connexion: πῶς δ' ἂν Πλάτων ἢ Δημοσθένης ὑψωσαν ἢ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ Θουκυδίδης (xiv. 1). *Elevation, dignity, grandeur, eloquence*, and other words of the kind will at various times best convey our author's meaning.

Other expressions of a similar but not always an identical signification are used by him: τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ, τὰ μεγάλα, τὰ μεγέθη, τὸ μεγαλοφνές, ἡ ὑψηγορία, τὸ θαυμάσιον, τὸ ὑπερτεταμένον. The plural number is often used where specific instances or individual manifestations of the quality are meant (cp. i. 3, 4; xvii. 3; ix. 1, 4, 10).

The Latin words usually employed to translate περὶ ὕψους have been such as *de grandi sive sublimi orationis genere, de sublimi genere dicendi, de sublimitate*, etc.; and for this use of *sublimis* and *sublimitas* there is warrant enough in Quintilian, who frequently thus uses the words. *Elevatio* is, of course, out of court, being a term of depreciation similar to διασυρμός in Greek<sup>1</sup>.

In the Romance languages the Latin title is naturally followed: French, *du Sublime*; Italian, *del Sublime* or *della Sublimità*; Spanish, *de la Sublimidad*. In the Teutonic tongues vernacular equivalents are given: e.g. German, *Ueber das Erhabene* (which is also the title of a short treatise by Schiller); and Dutch, *Over de Verhevenheit en Deftigheid des Styls*. In a recent Swedish translation the title *Om det Sublima* is adopted.

In English a native rendering was originally attempted: *Of the Height of Eloquence* (John Hall's Translation, 1662); *Of the Loftiness or Elegancy of Speech* (John Pulteney's Translation, 1680). It is a matter for some regret that these English titles, in some slightly modified form, have not held their ground. They have given place, under the influence of the Latin translators and of Boileau, to what Dr Johnson called a *Gallicism*; and misconception has been the result, a misconception which the existence of Burke's homonymous treatise *On the Sublime and Beautiful* has done much to increase.

**φαντασία.** xv. 1. *Image*. The word is treated fully by Coblentz, *De libello περὶ ὕψους auctore*, pp. 42—46, with especial reference to points in which the treatise is in harmony with Stoic doctrine. For *visiones* as a Latin equivalent and for a definition, see Quintil., *Inst. Or.*, vi. 2, 29.—With the wording of the definition in xv. 1, we may

<sup>1</sup> *Gravis*, as well as *sublimis*, might convey the general sense of ὑψηλός. Cp. also such expressions as *magnifica et caelestia composuit* (Plin. *Ep.* ix. 26).

compare Aristot. *Poetics* xix. 1, ἔστι δὲ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ταῦτα, ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι.

φλοιώδης. iii. 2, x. 7. *Empty, frivolous*. This word is common to Plutarch and the περὶ ὕψους.

χρηστομαθεῖν. ii. 3. *To desire to learn*: cp. the noun χρηστομάθεια in xliv. 1. This is the traditional interpretation, but it may be doubted whether the meaning is not rather *bonis* (*artibus s. litteris*) *studere*.

## APPENDIX C.

LITERARY. WITH A LIST OF AUTHORS AND QUOTATIONS.

It will be convenient to open this Appendix with a concise summary, chapter by chapter, of the treatise. Only the briefest possible headings will be given, and (wherever possible) Greek words furnished by the author himself will be used as well as English.

### HEADINGS OF CHAPTERS.

i. Κεκιλίου περὶ ὕψους. The treatise of Caecilius and its shortcomings.

ii. ὕψους τέχνη. Is there an art of the sublime? Can the sublime be taught?

iii. τὸ οἰδοῦν.—τὸ μειρακιῶδες.—ὁ παρένθυρσος.—Defects that are opposed to sublimity.

iv. τὸ ψυχρόν.—Frigidity.

v. τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις καινόσπονδον. This the real cause and origin of the above defects.

vi. ἡ γὰρ τῶν λόγων κρίσις πολλῆς ἐστὶ πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα. Literary criticism is the late-born child of long experience.

vii. τὸ ἀληθὲς ὕψος. The true sublime.

viii. πέντε πηγαί τινες αἱ τῆς ὑψηγορίας. Five sources of sublimity.

ix. ἡ μεγαλοφροσύνη. Nobility of soul.

x. ἡ τῶν ἐμπερομένων σύνθεσις. Grouping of details.

- xi. *περὶ αὐξήσεως.* Concerning amplification.
- xii. *ὁ τῆς αὐξήσεως ὅρος.* Definition of amplification.
- xiii. *ὅτι ὁ Πλάτων μεγεθύνεται, καὶ περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως.* Plato as an exemplar of the sublime: and concerning imitation.
- xiv. *τοιούτων ὑποτίθεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων λόγων δικαστήριον καὶ θέατρον.* Some practical injunctions: aim high, match yourself with the great, imagine that you are appearing before a tribunal of the finest writers of the past, take heed that you do not act an unseemly part before the bar of the future.
- xv. *περὶ φαντασίας.* Concerning imagery or imagination.
- xvi. *περὶ σχημάτων.—τὸ ὁμοτικὸν σχῆμα.* Concerning figures.—The oath-figure, or figure of adjuration.
- xvii. *ὅτι φύσει πως συμμαχεῖ τε τῷ ὕψει τὰ σχήματα καὶ πάλιν ἀντισυμμαχεῖται θαυμαστῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.* Figures and the sublime are leagued together in mutual alliance.
- xviii. *περὶ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως.* Concerning rhetorical question and answer.
- xix. *περὶ ἀσυνδέτων.* Concerning asyndeton or the absence of conjunctions.
- xx. *ἢ τῶν σχημάτων σύνοδος.* Accumulation of figures.
- xxi. *πρόσθεσ τοὺς συνδέσμους.* The effect of adding conjunctions.
- xxii. *περὶ ὑπερβατῶν.* Concerning hyperbata or inversions.
- xxiii. *αἱ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐναλλάξεις.* Interchange of singular and plural number.
- xxiv. *τὰ ἐκ τῶν πληθυντικῶν εἰς τὰ ἐνικὰ ἐπισυναγόμενα ἐνίοτε ὑψηλοφανέστατα.* The conversion of plurals into singulars sometimes conduces in a marked degree to elevation.
- xxv. *αἱ τῶν χρόνων ἐναλλάξεις.* Interchange of tenses.
- xxvi. *περὶ τῆς τῶν προσώπων ἀντιμεταθέσεως.* Concerning the variation of persons.
- xxvii. *περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ αὐτοπρόσωπον ἀντιμεταστάσεως.* Concerning sudden transition to the first person.
- xxviii. *περὶ περιφράσεως.* Concerning periphrasis.

xxix. ἐπίκηρον μέντοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ περίφρασις. Perils of periphrasis.

xxx. περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκλογῆς. Concerning the choice of words.

xxxι. περὶ ἰδιωτισμοῦ. Concerning familiar language.

xxxιι. περὶ μεταφορῶν. Concerning metaphors.

xxxιιι. σύγκρισις ἀρετῶν. Comparison of excellences. Superiority of sublimity with some defects to an uninspired correctness—to a flawless mediocrity.

xxxiv. Δημοσθένους καὶ Ὑπερίδου σύγκρισις. Comparison of Demosthenes and Hyperides.

xxxv. περὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Λυσίου. Concerning Plato and Lysias.

xxxvi. περὶ τῶν ἐν λόγοις μεγαλοφυῶν. Concerning sublimity in literature: the fame it brings. [Chapters xxxiii.—xxxvi. are in the nature of a digression.]

xxxvii. περὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων. Concerning comparisons and similes.

xxxviii. περὶ ὑπερβολῶν. Concerning hyperboles.

xxxix. περὶ συνθέσεως. Concerning composition or the arrangement of words.

xl. περὶ τῆς τῶν μελῶν ἐπισυνθέσεως. Concerning the collocation of members.

xli. τὰ μικροποιά. Things that lower the tone of style.

xlii. περὶ φράσεως συγκοπῆς. Concerning concision of expression.

xliii. περὶ μικρότητος ὀνομάτων καὶ ἀυξήσεως. Concerning trivial expressions and amplification.

xliv. περὶ λόγων ἀφορίας. Concerning the decay of eloquence.

A tabular analysis will make still clearer the connexion of chapters viii.—xl. The remaining chapters may be omitted from this analysis since cc. i.—vii. are introductory and c. xlv. is an epilogue, while cc. xli.—xliii. deal (as do cc. iii.—v. from another point of view) with vices of style opposed to sublimity, viz. 1. ῥυθμὸς κεκλασμένος: broken and undignified rhythms; 2. ἢ ἄγαν τῆς φράσεως συγκοπή: excessive conciseness; 3. μικρότης ὀνομάτων: trivial expressions.

## TABULAR ANALYSIS OF CC. VIII.—XL.

Chapter viii. names the five following *πηγαὶ τῆς ὑψηγορίας* or

## SOURCES OF THE SUBLIME.

I. τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεπήβολον. **Grandeur of conception.**

Details of treatment :—

(1) Grandeur of thought springs from nobility of soul.  
Examples from Homer and from *Genesis* (c. ix.).

(2) Choice and grouping of the most striking circumstances.  
Ode of Sappho (c. x.).

(3) Amplification (cc. xi. xii.).

(4) Imitation of great models (cc. xiii. xiv.).

(5) Imagery (c. xv.).

II. τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος. **Vehement and inspired passion.** [This topic is reserved for a separate work.]III. ἡ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις. **The due employment of figures.**

(1) Figure of adjuration (c. xvi.). The close alliance between figures and sublimity (c. xvii.).

(2) Rhetorical question (c. xviii.).

(3) Asyndeton (cc. xix.—xxi.).

(4) Hyperbaton (c. xxii.).

(5) Changes of number, person, tense, etc. (cc. xxiii.—xxvii.).

(6) Periphrasis (cc. xxviii. xxix.).

IV. ἡ γενναία φράσις. **Nobility of expression.**

(1) Choice of proper and striking words (c. xxx.).

(2) The use of familiar words (c. xxxi.).

- (3) Metaphors (c. xxxii.).
- (4) Comparisons and Similes (c. xxxvii.; cc. xxxiii.—xxxvi. being a digression).
- (5) Hyperbole (c. xxxviii.).

**V. ἡ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις. Dignified and elevated composition.**

- (1) Arrangement of words (c. xxxix.).
- (2) Collocation of members (c. xl.).

[*Note.* III. IV. and V. may be regarded as the more technical, I. and II. as the more natural, sources of the sublime : viii. 1.]

As for the *lacunae* in the treatise, their number and extent and the chapters in which they occur have already been indicated in the Textual Appendix (p. 167). A conjectural attempt to supply them was made, early in the present century, in an ingenious English Essay (see Bibliographical Appendix, p. 254 *infra*). Reference may also be made to Rothstein's articles in *Hermes* xxii. and xxiii.; to Canna, *Della Sublimità*, pp. 77, 90, 103, 112, 118, 165; to Meinel, *Dionysios oder Longinos Ueber das Erhabene*, pp. 57, 58; and to Martens, *De libello περὶ ὑψους*, p. 16. Schück's *Commentarii περὶ ὑψους argumentum* (Breslau, 1855) will also be found useful. Like the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, the *περὶ ὑψους* has often been arraigned because of want of system, but for this apparent looseness of structure (which it is easy to exaggerate) the gaps in the treatise are partly responsible. And in the case neither of the *Ars Poetica* nor of the *περὶ ὑψους* is it right to take absolutely for granted that the title comes from the author himself. It should be added that in one of the *lacunae* (ix. 4) the general sense of the missing words may be supplied from Arrian *Anab.* ii. 25, 2 : Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγονσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγάπησε καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι πρόσω κινδυνεύειν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίωνι ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν εἶπερ Παρμενίων ἦν οὕτως ἔπραξεν.

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After this analysis of the general contents of the *De Sublimitate* it will be well to present, also in a tabular form, a complete list of the authors who are mentioned in it.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF AUTHORS MENTIONED IN THE  
DE SUBLIMITATE.

Anterior to 700 B.C.	Homer. Hesiod. [Moses.]
700—600 B.C.	Archilochus. Stesichorus. Sappho.
600—500 B.C.	[Aristeas.] Anacreon. Hecataeus.
500—400 B.C.	Pindar. Simonides. Bacchylides. Herodotus. Thucydides. Gorgias. Aeschylus. Sophocles. Euripides. Ion of Chios. Eupolis. Aristophanes.
400—300 B.C.	Xenophon. Plato. Aristotle. Theophrastus. Lysias. Isocrates. Demosthenes. Hyperides. Philistus. Theopompus. Timaeus. Zoilus.
300—200 B.C.	Callisthenes. Cleitarchus. Eratosthenes. Hegesias. Aratus. Theocritus. Apollonius Rhodius.
200—100 B.C.	Ammonius. Matris.
100 B.C.—1 A.D.	Amphicrates. Cicero. Caecilius. Theodorus.

Such a table shows better than words could do the wide range of our author's interests, and his zeal and industry. From the earliest times to the beginning of our era—hardly beyond that—no century is unrepresented in his fragmentary work, and few authors of the first rank are absent. Poetry and prose, and almost all departments of prose and poetry, have come within his observation. He preserves passages (including an ode of Sappho) nowhere else preserved, and he reminds us of plays by Euripides or Eupolis, of poems by Archilochus or Simonides or Bacchylides, of speeches by Hyperides, which have either been lost entirely or have only recently been recovered. He reminds us, too, that many authors of the Greek world are entirely unknown to us except for a casual mention here and there.

Thus much as to the authors. As to the quotations themselves, they are (where we can test them) not exact but free; often they appear to be made from memory. Examples of such laxity will be

found in cc. xiii. 1, xv. 9, xviii. 1, xxvi. 2, xxxi. 2. Sometimes part of a line will be omitted, as in xxvi. 1 and xxvii. 4 (as given by P); in the latter passage the quotation also stops suddenly short. More than once (as in ix. 6 and 8) lines drawn from different parts of a poem are fused together<sup>1</sup>.

With these preliminary remarks, the authors (and the quotations from them) may now be given in alphabetical order together with some brief particulars as to the more obscure writers, and with references to the pertinent chapters and sections of the *De Sublimitate*.

## AUTHORS AND QUOTATIONS.

**Aeschylus** b. 525, d. 456 B.C.

From Aeschylus are quoted examples (taken from the *Septem c. Thebas* 42—46 and the *Lycurgia*) of imaginative daring (xv. 5, 6), and of bombast or the pseudo-tragic (iii. 1). The lines in iii. 1 and the single line in iii. 2 are probably from the *Orithyia*, for which see Meinel's *Dionysios oder Longinos etc.* p. 46; see also *Rhein. Mus.* xxxix. (F. Buecheler) and xlviii. (O. Immisch), *Hermes* x. 334 (Wilamowitz) and Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 16, 2 (with Tyrrell's notes). On the whole it would seem most likely that both Aeschylus and Sophocles had written an *Orithyia*, and that the five lines are by Aeschylus, and the single line by Sophocles, to whom in fact it is here expressly assigned.

**Ammonius** flor. 140 B.C. Pupil and successor of Aristarchus at Alexandria. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, i. p. 1865; Susemihl, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt. in der Alexandrinerzeit*, ii. pp. 153—5.

See c. xiii. 3 and pp. 8, 9 supra.—It is stated (*Athenaeum*, Nov. 12, 1898) that some scholia, by Ammonius, on *Iliad* xxi. have been discovered by Grenfell and Hunt among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

**Amphicrates** flor. 90 B.C. Athenian rhetorician. Pauly-Wissowa i. 1903; Susemihl ii. 372; Blass, *Griechische Beredsamkeit*, 67.

Condemned for his bombast, iii. 2, iv. 4. See further under *Hegesias* p. 226 infra.

**Anacreon** flor. 540 B.C.

Quoted to exemplify homely but forcible expression (xxx. 1).

<sup>1</sup> It has seemed convenient to indicate citations (from prose authors) by means of quotation-marks in the Greek text as well as in the English translation. It is for convenience also that the references for all quotations have been entered beneath the translation only.



The words cited will be found in Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>4</sup>, III. 280, οὐκέτι Θρηϊκίης (πώλου) ἐπιστρέφομαι, where the word πώλου is added by Bergk, who in his first edition suggested παιδός. The meaning is, of course, the same in either case; but the passage in the περὶ ὕψους suggests that the less refined word is right.

**Apollonius** 'of Rhodes': flor. 240 B.C.: the chief epic poet of Alexandria. Pauly-Wissowa II. 126; Susemihl I. 383.

Nothing is quoted from Apollonius in the περὶ ὕψους, but in c. xxxiii. 4 reference is made to the *Argonautica* as a model of 'correctness': ἐπείτοιγε καὶ ἄπτοτος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ποιητής.

**Aratus** flor. 270 B.C.: the chief didactic poet of Alexandria. Pauly-Wissowa II. 391; Susemihl I. 284.

Quoted in illustration of ἡ τῶν προσώπων ἀντιμετάθεσις (xxvi. 1). In his description of the perils of a storm he is contrasted with Homer (x. 6). Both these passages are taken from the *Phaenomena* (vv. 287 and 299). It will be remembered that the words τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν are quoted (*Acts* xvii. 28) from the *Phaenomena* of Aratus by St Paul, who was like him a Cilician; and that the poem was translated into Latin by Cicero in his early youth (cp. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 41).

The best text of the *Phaenomena* is that of E. Maass (Berlin, 1893); the best English translation, that of E. Poste (London, 1880).

**Archilochus** flor. 650 B.C. Iambic poet, of Paros.

Imitation of Homer (xiii. 3). Rich and disorderly profusion (xxxiii. 5). Graphic description of a shipwreck (x. 7), for which see Bergk *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>4</sup> II. 386 and Wilamowitz *Hermes* x. 344.

**Aristeas**. Aristeas of Proconnesus: flor. 580 B.C. Wrote a poem on the Arimaspians (Herod. iv. 13—15, and Pausanias i. 24, 6: cp. Frazer's *Pausanias* II. 319, and Pauly-Wissowa II. 877). Suidas: Ἀριστέας Δημοχάριδος ἡ Κανστροβίου, Προκονήσιος, ἐποποιός, τὰ Ἀριμάσπεια καλούμενα ἔπη· ἔστι δὲ ἱστορία τῶν Ὑπερβορέων Ἀριμασπῶν, βιβλία γ'. Dionysius Hal. *de Thucyd. Iud.* 23: οὗθ' αἱ διασφζόμεναι (γραφαὶ) παρὰ πᾶσιν ὡς ἐκείνων οὔσαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν πιστεύονται· ἐν αἷς εἰσὶν αἶ τε Κάδμου τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀριστείου τοῦ Προκονησίου καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων τούτοις. As a point of coincidence with this passage of Dionys. Hal., it will be noticed that the περὶ ὕψους speaks vaguely of ὁ τὰ Ἀριμάσπεια ποιήσας. Possibly this

was one of those questions of authenticity with which the Graeco-Roman rhetorical schools were, to their credit, much concerned.

The curious passage quoted from Aristeas (x. 3) is a description of a storm from the point of view of an inland people, probably the Arimaspi themselves, whose country the adventurous Aristeas had visited and described in hexameter verse. In the last line seasickness may possibly be indicated: cp. ἐμοῦντος τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ λέγοντος τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐκβάλλειν in Plutarch *De vitando aere alieno* viii. Our author—with his usual range and impartiality—chooses Aratus a late, and Aristeas a comparatively early epic writer, for contrast with Homer.

The few surviving fragments of Aristeas are printed in G. Kinkel's *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Lipsiae, 1877), pp. 243—247.

**Aristophanes** 450—385 B.C. (approximately).

Shows, as do Euripides and Philistus, what virtue resides in the skilful arrangement of ordinary words (xl. 2).

**Aristotle** 384—322 B.C.

The only passage of Aristotle to which reference is made (xxxii. 3) is one in which he had pointed out that such words as ὥσπερ εἰ serve to mitigate the harshness of metaphorical expressions. It has been suggested that this precept of Aristotle may have had a place in the *Poetics*. For the precept, cp. Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 41, 165 and Quintilian *Inst. Or.* viii. 3, 37. The last passage runs thus: 'Et si quid periculosius finxisse videbimur, quibusdam remediis praemuniendum est: *Ut ita dicam, Si licet dicere, Quodam modo, Permitte mihi.*' (With *remediis*, cp. ἡ γὰρ ὑποτίμησις, φασίν, ἵσται τὰ τολμηρά, *De Subl.* xxxii. 3. Possibly Quintilian and the author are drawing on some common source.)

**Bacchylides** flor. 475 B.C.

In xxxiii. 5 Bacchylides is ranked below Pindar. This judgment, and the grounds upon which it rests, have recently been put to the test in an altogether unexpected way. The *editio princeps* of the Poems of Bacchylides (edited in 1897 by F. G. Kenyon from a papyrus in the British Museum) has supplied an adequate basis for a comparison between the two poets, and the general view has been that—if it is fair to subject any poet to so severe a comparison—the critic's judgment stands confirmed<sup>1</sup>. It seems to be implied in

<sup>1</sup> W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.*, p. 167 (third edition, 1898) sums up thus: 'Bakchylides reicht weder an Originalität noch an Grossartigkeit der Diktion oder Tiefe der Gedanken an Pindar heran.'

c. xxxiii. that this and similar preferences of the author ran counter to the popular views of his day, and it is therefore all the more interesting that a witness (long silent like himself) should have arisen to justify him before the bar of Time, to which elsewhere (xiv. 3) he makes his appeal.

**Caecilius.** The numerous references to Caecilius throughout the *De Sublimitate*, and especially in its first chapter, make a somewhat detailed account of that author essential to a comprehension of the treatise.

Suidas, our principal authority with regard to the life of Caecilius, tells us that he was a Sicilian rhetorician who practised at Rome in the time of Augustus Caesar, that he was according to some accounts of servile birth, that his original name was Archagathus, and that he was 'in faith a Jew<sup>1</sup>.' Suidas, it will be seen from the extract given below, adds (if the words are to be regarded as genuine) the surprising statement that his life extended till the advent of Hadrian, whose reign began more than a century after the death of Augustus. This inexactitude has led Blass to assume that Caecilius, the rhetorician, has here been confused with Q. Caecilius Niger, the quaestor of Verres, about whom Plutarch makes statements similar to those of Suidas<sup>2</sup>. It has led an earlier writer to go further still, and to assume the identity of the rhetorician and the quaestor<sup>3</sup>. But however much or however little truth there may be in these hypotheses, or in C. Müller's conjecture (*F. H. G.* III. 331 a) that his ancestors had been brought as slaves from Syria to Sicily, it is not disputed that Caecilius Calactinus taught rhetoric at Rome, wherein he resembled Dionysius, of whom he was in fact an intimate friend<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, s. v. Καικίλιος· Καικίλιος (κεκίλιος codd.) Σικελιώτης Καλαντιανός, Κάλαντις δὲ πόλις Σικελίας, ῥήτωρ, σοφιστεύσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ δούλων, ὡς τινες ἱστορήκασιν, καὶ πρότερον μὲν καλούμενος Ἀρχάγαθος, τὴν δὲ δόξαν Ἰουδαίος. There seems little doubt (cp. Athen. vi. 272 F; xi. 466 A) that Καλακτίνος and Καλάκτη should be read for Καλαντιανός and Κάλαντις. *Archagathus*, it may be added, seems to have been a specially Sicilian name: see G. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae*, 210, 211, 212, 330 (conjecturally), 376.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Cic.* VII.: ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἑνοχος τῷ Ἰουδαΐζειν, ὄνομα Κεκίλιος.—Friedrich Blass, *Die griechische Beredsamkeit in dem Zeitraum von Alexander bis auf Augustus*, p. 174. But cp. Th. Reinach, *Revue des Études Juives*, xxvi. 36.

<sup>3</sup> G. Buchenau, *De scriptore libri περὶ ὕψους*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. Hal., *Epist. ad Cn. Pompeium*, p. 777 (ed. Reiske): ἐμοὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ φιλότατῳ Καικιλίῳ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα αὐτοῦ (sc. Θουκυδίδου) μάλιστά γε καὶ ζηλῶσαι Δημοσθένους.

Of the works of Caecilius, which may be classified under the two heads of *history* and *literary criticism*, the present editor has endeavoured to give (largely by way of conjectural reconstruction) some account in the *American Journal of Philology*, xviii. pp. 303 ff. Among the works of literary criticism were those indicated in the *De Sublimitate*, viz. *συγγραμμάτων περὶ ὕψους* (*De Subl.* i. 1) and *συγγράμματα ὑπὲρ Λυσίου* (*De Subl.* xxxii. 8). In this last passage the plural and the preposition are to be noted. Caecilius, it seems to be implied, had more than once dealt with Lysias, and in the spirit of an advocate rather than in that of a judge. In the same thirty-second chapter it is also implied that Caecilius was just as extreme in his animosity towards Plato as in his love of Lysias. But we should in fairness remember that the *De Sublimitate* is not without its polemical side. We know from another source that Caecilius was no mere blind and uncritical admirer of Lysias. On the contrary, he found fault with him on the ground that he was less skilful in the arrangement of arguments than in invention<sup>1</sup>.

The work of Caecilius on the Sublime has been lost entirely, while that of his successor exists only in a mutilated form. It is impossible therefore to speak with any certainty about the relation of the one book to the other. We do not even know whether Caecilius confined (as he might almost seem to have done) his observations to prose-writers, and excluded the poets, who figure so largely in the *De Sublimitate*, from his survey. The references to him in the *De Sublimitate* are either direct or indirect. The direct references, besides those already mentioned, are the following. In the eighth chapter we are told that he had omitted some of the five sources of sublimity, *πάθος* being particularised; and at the end of the same chapter the criticism is driven home in a vigorous way. In c. xxxi. Caecilius is again taken to task for finding fault with the word *ἀναγκοφαγήσαι* as used by Theopompus. In the next chapter it is mentioned, apparently in an approving rather than in a merely critical spirit, that 'with regard to the number of metaphors to be employed, Caecilius seems to assent to the view of those who lay it down that two, or at the most three, should be ranged together in the same passage.' Finally, when in c. iv the author is illustrating the vice of *frigidity* from the writings of the historian Timaeus, he excuses himself from a lengthy enumeration of examples on the ground that 'most of them have already been quoted by Caecilius.'

<sup>1</sup> Phot., Cod. 262, p. 489 B, 13.

Thus the direct references are, as usually happens when a new writer is treating a subject previously handled by some one else, of a rather controversial nature. But this is not all. The general contents of the treatise, and its sequence, or want of sequence, seem sometimes to be influenced by the fact that the author had the book of Caecilius before him, and assumed the same of his reader or readers. This is probably the explanation of the rather abrupt way in which some of the literary illustrations make their appearance. And we may possibly include among indirect allusions to Caecilius such expressions as τὸν γράφοντα in c. xxxvi. 3, and the words ὁ τοῖς χρηστομαθοῦσιν ἐπιτιμῶν in c. ii. 3. It has also been maintained that in c. ii. 1 the word φησί should be understood of Caecilius, but this does not seem altogether probable. There is a more likely instance in xxix. 1<sup>1</sup>.

**Callisthenes.** Writer of history: flor. 300 B.C. Pupil and nephew of Aristotle. Wrote Ἑλληνικά (probably covering the years 387—357 B.C.) and Περσικά. Pape-Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, 604. W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.*<sup>3</sup> 363.

Mentioned in the περὶ ὕψους iii. 2 together with Cleitarchus, and as an example of the same vices of style.

**Cicero** b. 106 B.C., d. 43 B.C.

Comparison between Cicero and Demosthenes (xii. 4), for the significance of which see p. 10 supra.—‘The comparison instituted between Cicero and Demosthenes is really masterly in its way. Pointing out that the grandeur of the Greek orator has something “abrupt” about it, while the Roman excels in diffusiveness (χύσις), he compares the former to a lightning flash which carries all before it in a straight line, while Cicero resembles the spreading fire that advances more leisurely and consumes all things round about it on its way. This comparison most felicitously expresses the directness and impetus of Demosthenes, and the diffusiveness, the *Umsichgreifen* of Cicero.’ J. B. Bury, in *Classical Review*, I, 301.—Section 5 in

<sup>1</sup> On the whole question see M. Rothstein in *Hermes*, xxiii. 1—20; L. Martens, *De Libello Περὶ Ὑψους*, Bonnae, 1877; Morawski, *Quaestiones Quintilianae*, Posnaniae, 1874, and *De Dionysii et Caecilii Studiis Rhetoricis* in *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxiv., pp. 370 seqq.; Burckhardt, *Caecili Rhetoris Fragmenta*, Basileae, 1863; Weise, *Quaestiones Caecilianae*, Berolini, 1888; F. Caccialanza, *Cecilio da Calatte e l'Ellenismo a Roma nel secolo di Augusto* in *Rivista di Filologia*, xviii. 1—73. Brzoska's admirable article on *Caecilius* in Pauly-Wissowa is the latest and most exhaustive contribution to the subject.

c. xii. is interesting as well as section 4. It seems to show that the author of the π. ὕψ. had, notwithstanding his modest disclaimer, some considerable knowledge of the contents of Cicero's works.

**Cleitarchus.** Like Callisthenes, a writer of history; flor. 300 B.C. One of the historians of Alexander the Great. Pape-Benseler, 671; W. Christ, 363.

Bombast is attributed to him in the π. ὕψ. iii. 2. The judgment is confirmed by Demetrius (περὶ ἑρμηνείας, ad f.) who mentions that Cleitarchus had described a wasp in words some of which were more appropriate to the Erymanthian boar: κατανέμεται μὲν, φησί, τὴν δρεινὴν, εἰσίσταται δὲ εἰς τὰς κοίλας δρυὺς.—It seems hitherto to have escaped notice that the frigidity of Cleitarchus' style is similarly condemned in the *Rhetoric* of Philodemus the Epicurean: [ψυχρό]-τερον ὁ τι τοῦ Κλειταρχείου, *frigidius vel Clitarchico sermone*, Herculan. volum. xi. 37.

**Demosthenes** b. 383, d. 322 B.C.

Compared with Cicero, xii. 4; with Hyperides xxxiv. 1—4. Ranked with Homer, Plato, and Thucydides, as one of the supreme models (xiv. 1, 2).

The citations are many:—

<i>c. Aristocr.</i> 113	—	<i>De Subl.</i> ii. 3.
<i>c. Aristog.</i> I. 27	—	„ xxvii. 3.
<i>de Corona</i> 18	—	„ xxiv. 1.
„ 169	—	„ x. 7.
„ 188	—	„ xxxix. 4.
„ 208	—	„ xvi. 2, 3; xvii. 2.
„ 296	—	„ xxxii. 2.
<i>in Midiam</i> 72	—	„ xx. 1, 2, 3.
<i>Philipp.</i> I. 10 and 44—	—	„ xviii. 1.
<i>c. Timocr.</i> 208	—	„ xv. 9.

The qualities illustrated are such as the orator's skill shown in various ways,—in the selection of particulars, in the use of questions and asyndeta, in rapid transitions, etc. We are told that Demosthenes abounds in hyperbata (xxii. 3). In xxxviii. 1 the following words are quoted as an example of tasteless hyperbole: εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε. The words occur in the *de Halonneso* 45 (εἴπερ ὑμεῖς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε); and we should like

much to know whether our author, who is interested in questions of authenticity (cp. ix. 5), ascribed the *de Hal.* to Demosthenes. More probably he was of the same opinion as Libanius after him : καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τέλει ῥηθὲν οὐ μικρὸν μαρτύριον τοῦ νόθου εἶναι τὸν λόγον 'εἴπερ ὑμεῖς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε.' ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημοσθένης εἴωθε παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ ὕβρις ἐστὶ καὶ λουιδρία μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσα (Libanii Argumentum 2). Modern critics also are inclined to regard the speech as spurious, together with *c. Aristog.* i. and ii.

In xxxiv. 3 it is said of Demosthenes : ἐνθα μὲν γελοῖος εἶναι βιάζεται καὶ ἀστείος, οὐ γέλωτα κινεῖ μάλλον ἢ καταγελάται (and then follows a comparison with another orator which will be noticed under *Hyperides*). Burke and Demosthenes had much in common in this as in other respects : 'His (Burke's) banter is nearly always ungainly, his wit blunt, as Johnson said of it, and very often unseasonable. We feel that Johnson must have been right in declaring that, though Burke was always in search of pleasantries, he never made a good joke in his life.' John Morley, *Burke*, p. 212. Mr Morley adds : 'As is usual with a man who has not true humour, Burke is also without true pathos. The thought of wrong or misery moved him less to pity for the victim than to anger against the cause.' Cp. S. H. Butcher, *Demosthenes*, pp. 161, 2.

The minute discussion in xxxix. 4 upon the order of words in a sentence can be illustrated from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. An obvious modern parallel of a burlesque character is that supplied by the variations played upon the words *Belle marquise, vos beaux yeux me font mourir d'amour* in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

**Eratosthenes** b. 276, d. 194 B.C. Alexandrian geographer and polymath. Among his accomplishments he included poetry, and wrote an elegy *Erigone*, suggested by the story of Icarus, his daughter Erigone, and his faithful dog Maera. The best special studies of the poem are those of E. Hiller, *Eratosthenis carminum reliquiae* (Lipsiae, 1872), pp. 94—114; and of E. Maass, in Kiessling and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Philologische Untersuchungen* vi. pp. 59—138.

The *Erigone* is described (xxxiii. 5) as ποιημάτων ἀμώμητον.

**Eupolis.** Athenian comic poet : flor. 415 B.C.

From the *Demi* of Eupolis are quoted (in xvi. 3) the two lines :

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην  
χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμὸν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

Some of those critics who are never happier than when they detect a plagiarism seem to have suspected Demosthenes of having borrowed from this passage of Eupolis for his famous oath in the *Crown* (*de Cor.* 208). The insinuation is ably met by our author. The real coincidence is between the passage of Eupolis and another in Euripides :—

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν, ἣν ἐγὼ σέβω,  
.....  
χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦ μὲν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

Eurip., *Med.*, vv. 394, 397.

It is probable that Miltiades is the speaker in the *Demi* and that, in the mock-heroic vein, he draws upon Euripides. Cp. Meineke, *Frag. Comic. Graec.*, 172; Kock, *Comic. Att. Fragm.*, i. 279; Raspe, *de Eupolidis Δήμοις*, 45.

**Euripides** b. 480, d. 406 B.C.

Most of the citations are to be found in chapter xv. :—

<i>Orestes</i> 255	—	<i>De Subl.</i> xv. 2.
<i>Iph. in Tauris</i> 291	—	„ xv. 2.
<i>Phaethon</i>	—	„ xv. 4.
<i>Alexander</i>	—	„ xv. 4.
<i>Bacchae</i> 726	—	„ xv. 6.
<i>Orestes</i> 264	—	„ xv. 8.

There are two further quotations in c. xl. :—

<i>Herc. Fur.</i> 1245	—	<i>De Subl.</i> xl. 3.
<i>Antiope</i>	—	„ xl. 4.

For the *Alexander*, *Antiope*, and *Phaethon*, reference may be made to Wagner's *Fragmenta Euripidis*, pp. 630—635, 661—670, 800—809; and for the *Antiope* alone to H. Weil, *Études sur le drame antique*, pp. 213—246. Mahaffy has in the 'Cunningham Memoirs' of the Royal Irish Academy, No. viii., 1891, described the very ancient Fragments discovered by Flinders Petrie at Gurob in the Fayyum. In giving some account of the probable plot of the *Antiope*, Mahaffy says (pp. 28, 29): 'The moment when Dirce was tied to the bull is perpetuated in the famous marble group at Naples, the work of Apollonius and Tauriscus, the sculptors of Tralles. Her hideous death was then narrated by an eye-witness, from whose speech Longinus (xl. 4) has quoted a sentence as an example of majestic conciseness.'



It is worth noting that the phrase *εὐκλείας στέφανος* in the *De Subl.* xiii. 4 seems to be a reminiscence of a line in the *Antiope*, καὶ ταῦτα δρῶν | κάλλιστον ἔξεις στέφανον εὐκλείας αἰεί (Fr. 46, Wagn.); just as the words *κἂν ἄμουσος ἢ παντάπασιν* (xxxix. 2) recall the verse of the *Sthenoboea*, Ἔρως διδάσκει κἂν ἄμουσος ἢ τὸ πρὶν, and as the metaphor *ἐν βακχεύμασι νήφειν ἀναγκαῖον* (xvi. 4) seems suggested by *ἐν βακχεύμασιν οὖσ' ἢ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται* (*Bacchae* 317). In xlv. 12 the words *κράτιστον εἰκὴ ταῦτ' εἶναι* are from the *Electra* 379, *κράτιστον εἰκὴ ταῦτ' εἶναι ἀφειμένα*.

The estimate of the poetry of Euripides in cc. xv. and xl. is a good example of the author's critical method. He gives Euripides full credit for his strong points (such as his power of affecting the imagination and his skill in handling common words), while he does not conceal the limitations which he finds in him. There is no carping, and at the same time there is no fear of meeting that current of popular approval which had long set strongly in favour of Euripides. This same honest independence has led the author to choose his examples for censure, as well as for praise, from all times and all ranks; and it is one of his most striking merits to have done so.

For the effective use of ordinary words by Euripides, cp. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 2: *κλέπτεται δ' εὖ, εἰάν τις ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῇ· ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ καὶ ὑπέδειξε πρῶτος*. See also Dionys. Hal., *de Comp. Verb.*, xxiii.

**Gorgias.** Rhetorician, of Leontini in Sicily. Flor. 440 B.C.

Instances of bombast are quoted from Gorgias: *ταύτη καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λεοντίνου Γοργίου γελᾶται γράφοντος 'Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεὺς,' καὶ 'γύπες ἐμψυχοὶ τάφοι'* (iii. 2). Cp. Hermogenes (Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci*, II. 292): *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑποξύλοις τούτοις σοφισταῖς πάμπολλα εὖροις ἂν τάφους τε γὰρ ἐμψύχους τοὺς γύπας λέγουσιν, ὧν περ εἰσὶ μάλιστα ἄξιοι, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ψυχρεύονται πάμπολλα*.

**Hecataeus.** Hecataeus of Miletus, the early historian and geographer. Flor. 520 B.C. For a full account of him see Giacomo Tropea, *Ecateo da Mileto* (Messina, 1896).

Hecataeus furnishes (*De Subl.* xxvii. 2) an example of rapid change from (grammatical) person to person, from narrative to allocution.

**Hegesias.** Hegesias of Magnesia. Rhetorician: flor. 270 B.C. Susemihl II. 464; Blass, *Griech. Bereds.*, 4, 5; 9, 10; 27 ff.; Baudat, *Étude sur Denys d'Halicarnasse*, pp. 3, 45, 55. Some instructive

remarks on the relation of Atticism to Asianism, and of Hegesias to both, will be found in Holm's *History of Greece* iv. 481, 2, and in Jebb's *Attic Orators* ii. 440—442, 445, 451. The truth is, as Holm points out, that the terms *Atticism* and *Asianism* are used most vaguely, the former including imitators of Attic writers as different as Plato and Demosthenes, as Lysias and Isocrates.—The question of the influence of Hegesias upon the style of Pausanias forms the subject of an interesting section in the introduction to Frazer's *Pausanias* i. lxix., lxx.

In the *De Sublimitate* iii. 2 Hegesias is classed with Amphicrates and Matris, and charged with the same faults.

**Herodotus** flor. 440 B.C.

The citations from Herodotus are many:—

Herod.	I.	105—	<i>De Subl.</i>	xxviii.	4.
„	II.	29—	„	xxvi.	2.
„	V.	18—	„	iv.	7.
„	VI.	11—	„	xxii.	1.
„	VI.	75—	„	xxxi.	2.
„	VII.	181—	„	xxxi.	2.
„	VII.	188—	„	xliii.	1.
„	VII.	191—	„	xliii.	1.
„	VII.	225—	„	xxxviii.	4.
„	VIII.	13—	„	xliii.	1.

If examined in detail, the quotations from Herodotus in the *De Sublimitate* will be found to be made for the purpose both of praise and of blame, chiefly the former. It would be a sure passport to the author's regard and respect that Herodotus, like Plato, was 'Ομηρικώτατος (xiii. 3).

With the Herodotean expression criticised in iv. 7 may be compared that of Pericles, ἡ τοῦ Πειραιέως λήμη (Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 10, 7; Plut. *Peric. Vit.* c. 8).

**Hesiod.** Date uncertain: eighth century approximately.

The words ἀγαθὴ κ.τ.λ. in *De Subl.* xiii. 4 are from Hesiod (ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔστι ἡδε βροτοῖσι, *Works and Days*, 24). In ix. 5 the *Shield* is quoted (τῆς ἐκ μὲν ῥινῶν μύξαι ῥέον, *Scut.* 267), with an interesting expression of doubt as to its authorship: εἴγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα θερέον.

**Homer.** Date uncertain.

No author is so often quoted in the *De Sublimitate* as Homer, the citations from whom seem to suggest a familiar knowledge both of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*:—

<i>Iliad</i> I.	225	—	<i>De Subl.</i> iv. 4.
„ IV.	442	—	„ ix. 4 (allusion).
„ V.	85	—	„ xxvi. 3.
„ V.	770	—	„ ix. 5.
„ XIII.	18	—	„ ix. 8.
„ XV.	346	—	„ xxvii. 1.
„ XV.	605	—	„ ix. 11.
„ XV.	624	—	„ x. 5.
„ XV.	697	—	„ xxvi. 1.
„ XVII.	645	—	„ ix. 10.
„ XX.	60	—	„ ix. 8.
„ XX.	61	—	„ ix. 6.
„ XX.	170	—	„ xv. 3.
„ XXI.	388, 9	—	„ ix. 6.
<i>Odyssey</i> III.	109	—	„ ix. 12.
„ IV.	681	—	„ xxvii. 4.
„ IX.	182	—	„ ix. 14 (allusion).
„ X.	17	—	„ ix. 14 „
„ X.	237	—	„ ix. 14 „
„ X.	251	—	„ xix. 2.
„ XI.	315	—	„ viii. 2.
„ XI.	543	—	„ ix. 2 (allusion).
„ XII.	62	—	„ ix. 14 „
„ XII.	447	—	„ ix. 14 „
„ XVII.	322	—	„ xlv. 5.
„ XXII.	79	—	„ ix. 14 (allusion).

It may be remarked that the author clearly (ix. 14) did not agree with the *Chorizontes* in assigning the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to different poets. It may also be remarked that, devoted as he is to Homer, he does not, even in his case, refrain from disapprobation where he thinks disapprobation is required (ix. 14, xxiii. 4, xxxvi. 2). On the other side, his admiration for the great poet has inspired some of his most eloquent passages, as was felt by Gibbon, a dispassionate judge who did not readily fall a victim to foolish enthusiasms. ‘The ninth chapter (of the *De Sublimitate*) is one of

the finest monuments of antiquity. Till now, I was acquainted only with two ways of criticising a beautiful passage: the one, to shew, by an exact anatomy of it, the distinct beauties of it, and whence they sprung; the other, an idle exclamation, or a general encomium, which leaves nothing behind it. Longinus has shewn me that there is a third. He tells me his own feelings upon reading it; and tells them with such energy, that he communicates them. I almost doubt which is most sublime, Homer's Battle of the Gods, or Longinus's Apostrophe to Terentianus upon it.' (Edward Gibbon, *Journal*, Sept. 3, 1762.) The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* appeal as strongly (if a modern parallel may be adduced) to the author of the *De Sublimitate* as do Milton and the Book of Job to the author of the *Sublime and Beautiful*.

Over and above those already quoted, other references to Homer will be found in ix. 7, 10—15; x. 3; xiii. 3, 4; xiv. 1, 2.—The passage from the *Odyssey* x. 251 is also eulogised (and for the same reason) by Eustathius, who no doubt reflects Alexandrian views: καλὸν δ' ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἡ ἀσύνδετος εἰσβολή. Coincidences of this kind recall the remark in c. ix. 8: πολλοῖς δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν ὁ τόπος ἐξείργασται.

**Hyperides.** Attic orator. Date of death, 322 B.C.

The first allusion to Hyperides in the *De Subl.* (xv. 10) is prompted by a well-known saying of his, one which is also found in Plut. *Moralia* 849 A: αἰτιωμένων δέ τινων αὐτὸν ὡς παριδόντα πολλοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, Ἐπεσκότει, ἔφη, μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων ὄπλα, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἢ δ' ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχῃ. In c. xxxiv. Hyperides is compared at length with Demosthenes, and reference is made to three of his productions,—the *Athenogenes*, the *Phryne* (see Athen. 590 E and Quintil. x. 5, 2), and the *Deliacus* (cp. Hermog. ap. Speng. II. 288, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δηλιακῇ τοῦ Ὑπερίδου ποιητικῶς μᾶλλον καὶ μυθικῶς εἴρηται). With πένταθλος (xxxiv. 1), cp. [Plat.] *Erast.* 135 E.

The *Athenogenes* has recently reappeared in one of those papyrus rolls from Egypt which have helped to illustrate the *περὶ ὕψους* and to enhance our faith in its critical estimates. The speech was printed, for the first time, in the course of the years 1891 and 1892 from a papyrus acquired by the Museum of the Louvre in 1888; and although the text is incomplete, enough remains whereby to form a conception of the entire composition. 'The recovery of the speech against Athenogenes is especially welcome, because there is excellent reason to believe that in it we have a thoroughly characteristic

specimen of that class of oratory in which Hyperides especially excelled. The author of the treatise *De Sublimitate* couples it with the defence of Phryne as an example of a manner in which Hyperides was superior even to Demosthenes. As an advocate in a social *cause célèbre*, or in any matter which required light and delicate handling, Hyperides was unequalled; and we are now in a far better position than formerly to judge of the character of his genius' (F. G. Kenyon, *Hyperides: Orations against Athenogenes and Philippides*, p. xv.).

**Ion.** Ion of Chios. Tragic poet: flor. 440 B.C. Besides tragedies, Ion wrote elegies, hymns, dithyrambs, and (in prose) a book of travels and a history.

Correct poet as he is, he cannot for a moment be compared to Sophocles (c. xxxiii. 5).

**Isocrates** b. 436, d. 338 B.C.

An instance of puerile hyperbole is adduced (xxxviii. 2) from the *Panegyric* § 8 of Isocrates. In xxi. 1 it is effectively shown how, by the addition of connecting particles, the followers of Isocrates (οἱ Ἰσοκράτῃσι) would be likely to enfeeble a forcible passage of Demosthenes.—In iv. 2 the author cites, as an example of frigidity, a passage in which Timaeus had described Alexander as spending fewer years in the conquest of Asia than Isocrates spent in the composition of his *Panegyric*. θαυμαστή γε τοῦ Μακεδόνα ἢ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν σύγκρισις is the caustic comment of our author, who cannot away with the bookish parallels which so readily offer themselves to the literary man.

**Lysias** flor. 400 B.C.

Lysias, the Attic orator, is an important figure in the *περὶ ὕψους*, inasmuch as the treatise hinges upon the author's preference for the style of Plato, as compared with that of Lysias preferred by Caecilius ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Λυσίου συγγράμμασιν (xxxii. 8). Caecilius was, it is alleged, moved by an unreasoning animosity against Plato. Our author, while admitting (xxxiv. 2) that Lysias has ἀρετὰς τε καὶ χάριτας of his own, decides the question by reference to his main principle that elevation is to be sought even at the price of occasional error. That principle, he clearly thought, called for special emphasis in his own age, when writers were more likely to fall into the extreme of lifelessness than to run into the opposite extreme of exuberance.

**Matris.** Matris of Thebes. A rhetorician; of uncertain date, say 200 B.C.; wrote an ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους (*Athen.* x. 412 B); showed the faults of the Asiatic manner. Susemihl, II. 469.

Of the same class as Amphicrates and Hegesias (*De Subl.*, iii. 2).

**Moses.** The allusion (ix. 9) to the Hebrew scriptures in a Greek classic is so interesting and remarkable that it demands a brief discussion with special reference to the doubts which scholars have at various times cast upon its authenticity. Among the doubters have been Franciscus Portus in the sixteenth century, Daniel Wyttenbach in the eighteenth, and Leonhard Spengel<sup>1</sup> and Louis Vaucher<sup>2</sup> in our own century. The views of the two last critics invite particular attention, and it will be convenient to consider those of Vaucher first.

Vaucher's judgment, upon this point as upon others, is somewhat warped by his prepossessions. His object, throughout his ingenious but unconvincing book, is to prove that Plutarch is the author of the *De Sublimitate*. And with this theory the quotation from *Genesis* but ill accords, in view of Plutarch's general attitude towards the Jews and of the absence of any direct reference to the Jewish scriptures in his accepted works. This preoccupation led Vaucher to emphasise unduly the fact that the passage is not found in P 2036, which at this point has lost eight leaves, of which however the first and the last are preserved in the remaining MSS. These two leaves (of which the latter embraces ix. 9) appear in all the editions of the *De Sublimitate*. This is true of that of Vaucher himself. He prints the words they contain in full. Section 9, however, he places in brackets. And yet, as far as manuscript authority goes, that section stands or falls with those other sections which rest upon the same evidence. And all these are so characteristic in themselves, and fit so perfectly into their context, that it is impossible to doubt their authenticity. They begin with an enumeration of the five sources of sublimity, and they end by giving the larger half of an extract from Homer, of which the concluding words (ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσαν) appear duly at the point where P resumes.

Spengel's attitude is more consistent. He too brackets the passage (*Rhetores Graeci*, I. pp. xvi. and 255). But it is to be noted

<sup>1</sup> *Specimen Emendationum in Cornelium Tacitum*, Monachii, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> *Études Critiques sur le Traité du Sublime et sur les Écrits de Longin*, Genève, 1854. Spengel's view has been reaffirmed lately by J. C. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne N. S.*, 1898, xxvi. pp. 123, 4.

that he does not reject the words on the ground of insufficient documentary support. It is not the external, but the internal evidence, that causes him to regard the section as an interpolation. The words do not seem to him to be at home in their surroundings. He would no doubt have agreed with F. A. Wolf, whom however he does not quote, that they seem to have 'fallen from the skies'.<sup>1</sup>

But a glance at the context will show that the degree of abruptness with which the passage is introduced has been greatly exaggerated, and certainly need awaken little surprise when found in a work which is by no means free from digression and parenthesis. And in truth the abruptness would in some respects be greater if the passage were away. The general subject of the ninth chapter is nobility of nature as a source of lofty diction. Quoting one of his own best things in a somewhat off-hand manner, like a true critic, the author says at the beginning of the chapter: 'In some other place I have written to this effect: "Sublimity is the echo of a great soul."' (γέγραφέα πον καὶ ἐτέρωθι τὸ τοιοῦτον· ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα, ix. 2.) This train of thought he illustrates chiefly, but not entirely, from Homer. Outside Homer, there is in the sections we possess (and it must be remembered that six leaves are missing) a reference to a celebrated saying of Alexander, and another to a poem attributed to Hesiod. It is important to call attention to these particulars because the critics have sometimes spoken as if the whole chapter were filled with Homer. And when the Homeric passages come, they have a certain unity; they all speak of manifestations of the divine power under various shapes; they end with a reference to the divine greatness and purity, and the divine control over the elements. Into this unity the passage from *Genesis* enters naturally, and after it there comes, by a similarly natural transition, a reference to deeds of heroic *men* as depicted in Homer (ix. 10). Now Spengel would have us believe that section 9 is but a marginal comment—the work of some Christian or Jew—on Ajax' call for light, as quoted in section 10. We cannot deny that such a gloss, singularly inept though it would be, might conceivably have been entered in the margin, and from thence have been transferred into the text at the wrong point. But to this doubly improbable possibility most impartial judges will prefer the likelihood that the passage stands where it was first placed. And it may be added that the hand of the

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Wolf, *Vorlesungen über die Alterthumswissenschaft*, i. 330: 'Diese Stelle fällt wie vom Himmel hinein.'

author of the treatise seems clearly revealed in minute points of wording, such as the *ταύτη καί* (cp. ix. 4) with which the passage is introduced<sup>1</sup>.

Another objection raised, on internal grounds, to the quotation is that it is not only *unexpected* but *inexact*. The first portion of the divine fiat differs slightly, and the second differs altogether, from the original as we know it. The question, indeed, suggests itself whether the passage can—with reference to any original known to us—properly be described as ‘a quotation’ at all. It reproduces the substance rather than the precise form of three verses at the beginning of *Genesis*. The verses may be transcribed here from the most recent edition of the Septuagint version, though we ought not to take it for granted that the author had that version in his mind or before his eyes, nor yet that he is echoing a Hebrew text in every way identical with ours. I. 3: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς· καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. 9: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν, καὶ ὀφθῇ τῇ ξηρά· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως. 10: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὰν γῆν<sup>2</sup>. Such ‘conflations’ are not unnatural when words are quoted from memory, and they are specially common in our author. Two examples, in which lines from different books of the *Iliad* are combined, will be found in sections 6 and 8 of this very chapter. It has been further suggested that, here as elsewhere, the author has been influenced, unconsciously no doubt, by his love of rhythm and parallelism:—

γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο.  
γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο<sup>3</sup>.

But this and all similar suggestions, however interesting, must be subject to the reservation that we do not know the exact nature of the source upon which the author is drawing.

It is necessary, moreover, to bear in mind that the more inexact the quotation, the less reason will there be for regarding the passage

<sup>1</sup> The question of the *sublimity* of the passage need hardly now be raised since it may be regarded as having been settled in the once famous controversy in which Boileau routed Huet and Leclerc. (See Boileau, *Œuvres* (edition of 1748), III. pp. 384 ff.) Even a ‘bare idea,’ to use our author’s phrase, may be sublime. Brevity and simplicity, he implies, so far from being inconsistent with sublimity, are of its very essence.

<sup>2</sup> Or should we see a reflexion of i. 3, 6, rather than of i. 3, 9, 10?

<sup>3</sup> J. Freytag, *De Anonymi περὶ ὑψους sublimi genere dicendi*. Hildesheim, 1897. P. 77.



as an interpolation. Only a Jew, or a Christian, would have been likely to interpolate it, and a Jew or Christian would have done the work with care and accuracy. Besides, such an interpolator would hardly have been content with describing Moses as 'no ordinary man.' Altogether, the arguments in favour of the theory of interpolation seem weak and precarious. The manuscript attestation is adequate; the passage harmonises with the context; the freedom in quotation is like our author and unlike an interpolator.

It remains, however, to glance at certain difficulties, of an *à priori* nature, which have been thought to attend this reference to the Jewish lawgiver in the work of a Greek writer. It has already been mentioned that Portus (1511—1581 A.D.) was the first scholar to express misgivings with regard to the authenticity of the section. In his day, and for long afterwards, the traditional ascription of the treatise to the historical Longinus was undisputed. But Portus thought it unlikely that the Longinus of history would be acquainted with the Jewish scriptures. In this view he has not found many to follow him. For was not Longinus a pupil of the leading Neoplatonists at Alexandria, and has not he himself ranked 'Paul of Tarsus' high in the hierarchy of Greek oratorical genius<sup>1</sup>?

But this is not all, for the commentator Schurzfleisch of Wittenberg has furnished an independent suggestion, with the design of removing the difficulty, if difficulty there be. In view of the wider acceptance which Schurzfleisch's suggestion has gained since an earlier date has been claimed for the treatise, it is important to observe that it was made by him as far back as the year 1711, when no one had begun to doubt that Longinus was the author. His words are worth quoting: 'Longinus fortasse non tam septuaginta seniores legit, quam hoc exemplum a Caecilio rhetore, qui τὴν δόξαν Ἰουδαῖος σοφὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ vocatur a Suida, mutuatus est<sup>2</sup>.' He thus threw out the pregnant hint that the illustration may have been taken, not directly from the Septuagint, but from Caecilius. Caecilius is described, in Suidas' biographical notice of him, as 'in faith a Jew<sup>3</sup>.' It is, therefore, quite possible, as Schurzfleisch saw, that the author, whose treatise takes a similar work by Caecilius as its starting-point,

<sup>1</sup> The reference of course is to the fragment (if it is to be regarded as genuine) given, e.g., by Vaucher, *Études*, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Schurzfleischius, *Animadversiones ad Dionysii Longini περὶ ὕψους commentationem*. Vitembergae, 1711. P. 23.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν δόξαν Ἰουδαῖος.

may have borrowed this Hebraic illustration of sublimity from him. Thus viewed, the extract may be regarded as a vague recollection, and reproduction, of Caecilius. The suggestion is now generally accepted. But while the theory may be regarded as highly probable, we ought at the same time to recognise that the author's general conception of Moses does not seem to be entirely based upon this fragment of his writings. The very words 'no ordinary man' seem to imply some independent knowledge extending beyond this isolated quotation. The writer possesses the general knowledge that he is dealing with 'the Jewish lawgiver,' whose actual name seemingly he does not think his readers will require. He possesses also the particular knowledge that the passage is to be found 'at the very beginning of his laws.' It may further be noted that he appears to direct special attention to the sublimity of the passage by his somewhat rhetorical use of the interrogative pronoun in introducing it.

Thus far the truth of the traditional belief that Longinus was the author has, for the sake of argument, been assumed. But the passage under review must, if its authenticity is to be placed beyond question, be shown to harmonise with the view now widely accepted that the treatise belongs not to the third century but to the first. At this point the likelihood of the author's obligation in this as in other matters to Caecilius comes again to our aid; and the likelihood is perhaps all the greater if the author followed him closely in time as well as in general treatment. But independently of this, it would not be difficult to show that the Graeco-Roman world of the first century was no stranger to the history and the antiquities of the Jews<sup>1</sup>.

Wolf, in the course of the passage already cited, admitted this. He thought that the section was probably a gloss by a Christian, though he would not expel it from the text, especially as the text itself was so fragmentary. But he states expressly that he does not base his scepticism on the inherent improbability of any reference to Moses. The name of Moses, as he remarks, occurs even in Strabo's writings; and he might have added, in those of Diodorus Siculus and earlier writers still<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This point was emphasised (*Philologus* I. pp. 630, 631: year 1846) by G. Roeper.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Romains relatifs au Judaïsme*, pp. 14 ff.; Pape-Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*, p. 969; J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, II. pp. 177 ff.

The question of early references to, or quotations from, the Old Testament in Greek writers deserves more attention than it seems hitherto to have received. Hatch's *Essay on Early Quotations from the Septuagint* does not profess to be more than its title implies. Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture* is exhaustive within its field; but the example it sets needs to be followed in other directions. In his introduction Ryle states with truth that 'Philo's testimony to the Septuagint text has the twofold value of being earlier, by more than two centuries, than our earliest extant MS.; and of being derived from a non-Christian, a Graeco-Judaic, source, separate in time and character from the great mass of other evidence.' The present section (especially in the light of the conjecture that Caecilius is its parent) possesses a somewhat parallel interest, an interest which is in some respects not less but greater because of the want of exact correspondence between the passage and any original known to us.

It is important, once more, to notice not only the words contained in the section, but also the way in which they are introduced. They are attributed to ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, a designation which corresponds closely with the words (ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης Μωϋσῆς) with which Philo himself introduces a quotation from the opening of *Genesis*. Further, they are said to be found 'at the very beginning of the laws.' Similarly, Philo denotes the Pentateuch by the term οἱ νόμοι, though he more commonly refers to it as ὁ νόμος or ἡ νομοθεσία<sup>1</sup>.

But the resemblances which the treatise affords with the writings of Philo do not end with this passage. They include the remarkable coincidence noted in the Introduction (p. 13 supra). Similarly, but not so convincingly, τῇδε κακεῖσε ἀγχιτροφῶς ἀντισπώμενοι (*De Subl.* xxii. 1) may be compared with ἀνθελκόμενος πρὸς ἑκατέρου μέρους ὧδε κακεῖσε (Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, iii. p. 678). And the likeness is seen in single words as well as in clauses. In the section just quoted from the *De Sublimitate*, we note the Philonic word εἰρμός, and others elsewhere such as ἐπάλληλος, κατασκελετεύω, προκόσμημα, μαγειρεῖον, προσυπογράφειν. And the word τὸ γλωττόκομον, used of a

<sup>1</sup> Ryle, op. cit. pp. xix., xx.—Reference should also be made to passages quoted by Th. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs, etc.*, pp. 18, 82, 361. The first passage is of special interest, particularly if the very early date claimed for it is correct. In it the end of 'the laws' seems to mean the end of *Leviticus*: προσέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ὅτι Μωσῆς ἀκούσας τοῦ θεοῦ τάδε λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

'cage' in *De Subl.* xlv. 5, has a distinct affinity with the Septuagint, and also (at a later date) with Aquila, additions to whose remains have lately been discovered and issued<sup>1</sup>.

The points of contact between the author of the *περὶ ὑψους* and the Jews are not, however, confined even to Moses, Caecilius, and Philo. There is also Josephus, who has referred to Moses in terms (quoted in the Introduction p. 12 supra) almost identical with those used in *De Subl.* ix. 9. There is also Theodorus, mentioned in iii. 5, who had possibly been one of the author's teachers in rhetoric, and who himself sprang from Gadara in Syria. And it is hardly necessary to add that the subjugation of Judaea by Pompey, and the provision by Alexandria of a common meeting-ground for Jews, Greeks, and Romans, must have multiplied points of contact in ways altogether unknown to us.

Mommsen, indeed, goes so far as to suggest that the author may himself possibly have been a Jew. He speaks of the treatise as one of the finest works of literary criticism surviving from antiquity, as written in the early days of the empire by an unknown author, and as the production, if not of a Jew, yet of a man who revered Moses and Homer alike (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 494). But against this tentative suggestion of Jewish origin must be set the general tone and character of ix. 9, and the fact that in xii. 4, when about to compare Cicero and Demosthenes, the author uses the words, 'if we *as Greeks* are at liberty to form an opinion upon the point<sup>2</sup>.' If a Jew, he must have been a most highly Hellenised Jew.

**Philistus.** Philistus of Syracuse, the historian. Began his *Σικελικὰ* about the year 386 B.C.; perished when supporting Dionysius II. against Dion in 357 B.C.; an imitator of Thucydides, whence termed *pusillus Thucydides* by Cicero (*ad Q. Fr.* ii. 13, 4).

According to the *De Subl.* (xl. 2), Philistus possessed, in common with Aristophanes and Euripides, the power of making ordinary words effective through the artistic skill with which they were bound together.—See further Freeman, *Sicily*, III. 597 ff.

<sup>1</sup> F. C. Burkitt's *Fragments of the Book of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila, from a MS. formerly in the Geniza at Cairo.* (Cambridge, 1898.)

<sup>2</sup> xii. 4: *εἰ καὶ ἡμῶν ὥς Ἕλλησιν ἐφέιται τι γνώσκων.* Cp. in the same chapter and section the use of the words *ὁ μὲν ἡμέτερος* as denoting Demosthenes.

**Pindar** b. 522, d. 448 B.C.

In xxxiii. 5 Pindar is preferred to Bacchylides, in the same way as Sophocles to Ion of Chios. See further under *Bacchylides* and *Sophocles*.

It seems likely that, in a vexed passage of c. xxxv. (οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς Αἴτνης κρατήρων ἀξιοθανμαστότερον νομίζομεν, ἧς αἱ ἀναχοαὶ πέτρους τε ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ὅλους ὄχθους ἀναφέρουσι καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐνίοτε τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου προχέουσιν πυρός, xxxv. 4), we have a reminiscence of *Pyth.* i. 21—24 :—

τὰς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτον πυρὸς ἀγνόταται  
ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ δ' ἀμέραισιν μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον  
καπνοῦ  
αἰθῶν· ἀλλ' ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας  
φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλόξ ἐς βαθείαν φέρει πόντου πλάκα  
σὺν πατάγῳ.

Our author would appear to offer us a somewhat bald prose paraphrase of this passage, representing πυρὸς ἀγνόταται ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί by ποταμοὺς γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου πυρός. The awkward collocation αὐτοῦ μόνου finds, therefore, its explanation in ἀγνόταται, unless indeed we are to suppose that ἀπλάτον or some such word has been changed by the scribes into αὐτοῦ μόνου.

**Plato** b. 427, d. 347 B.C.

Plato is among the four authors (the other three being Homer, Herodotus, and Demosthenes) who are oftenest quoted in the *De Sublimitate*. These are the citations, the area from which they are selected being—it will be seen—somewhat limited :—

*Timaeus* 65 c—*De Subl.* xxxii. 5.

” 69 D— ” ”

” 72 C— ” ”

” 74 A— ” ”

” 74 B— ” ”

” 74 D— ” ”

” 77 C— ” ”

” 78 E— ” ”

” 80 E— ” ”

” 85 E— ” ”

*Leges* 741 C— ” iv. 6.

” 773 C— ” xxxii. 7.

” 778 D— ” iv. 6.

<i>Leges</i>	801 B—	<i>De Subl.</i>	xxix. 1.
<i>Menex.</i>	236 D—	„	xxviii. 2.
„	245 D—	„	xxiii. 4.
<i>Phaedr.</i>	264 C—	„	xxxvi. 2.
<i>Resp.</i>	586 A—	„	xiii. 1.
„	573 E—	„	xliv. 7 <sup>1</sup> .

Plato sometimes is at fault (as one or two of these citations are intended to show), but what—asks the author—are his shortcomings when compared with his divine perfections<sup>2</sup>?

With the passage of the *Leges* (801 B) should be compared Aristoph. *Plut.* 1191 and in both cases Πλοῦτον should be written with a capital letter. See also Verrall in *Classical Review*, xix. 203.

Whatever the view of Caecilius may have been, his contemporary and friend Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ep. ad Pomp.* 760 and 765, *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosth.* 966) presents some points of agreement with our author.

**Sappho** flor. 600 B.C.

Not the least of the debts we owe to two distinguished literary critics of the Roman Empire—Dionysius Halicarnassensis and our author—is that they have transmitted to posterity the two most considerable extant fragments of Sappho's poetry, the one preserving the Ode to Aphrodite

Ποικιλόθρον' ἀθάνατ' Ἀφροδίτα,

the other the Ode to Anactoria as it is traditionally entitled

Φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν.

The former is quoted (Dionys. Hal., *De Comp. Verb.*, xxiii.) in illustration of the musical structure (so to say) of a perfect poem, —of the subtle harmony in it of words with thoughts. The latter is given (*De Subl.* x. 1, 2) as an example of the choice and grouping of the most striking manifestations of a passion such as that of love. Thus both Dionysius and our author wish to exemplify σύνθεσις, but σύνθεσις in a different sense, in the former case the reference

<sup>1</sup> With νεοττοποιεῖται (κατὰ τοὺς σοφούς, i.e. *secundum Platonem*) cp. Pl. *Rep.* (1.c.) ἀρα οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὰς μὲν ἐπιθυμίας βοᾶν πυκνάς τε καὶ σφοδρὰς ἐννεοσπτενμέναις; 'The passage is imitated by Longinus *de Sublim.* xlv. 7, where a poetical image is converted into a rhetorical figure,' Jowett and Campbell, *Rep.* vol. III. p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> c. xxxvi. 2. Such passages as xiii. 2 and xiv. 1 show clearly the relation in which the author stands to Plato: he is under his spell, or rather under his inspiration.

being more particularly to *δνόματα*, in the latter to *ἄκρα λήμματα*. The *περὶ ὕψους* does indeed deal with *σύνθεσις* as understood by Dionysius, but not till cc. xxxix. ff.

The following passages of Plutarch refer to the same Ode : *Eroticus* 763 A ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ διὰ Λυσάνδραν, ὃ Δαφναῖε, τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκλέλυσαι παιδικῶν, ἀνάμνησον ἡμᾶς, ἐν οἷς ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ λέγει, τῆς ἐρωμένης ἐπιφανείσης, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἴσχεσθαι καὶ φλέγεσθαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ καταλαμβάνειν ὠχρότητα καὶ πλάνον αὐτὴν καὶ ἱλιγγον. *Vit. Demetr.* 907 B, τῆς δὲ Στρατονίκης καὶ καθ' ἐαυτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σελεύκου φοιτώσης πολλάκις ἐγένετο τὰ τῆς Σαπφoῦς ἐκεῖνα περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα, φωνῆς ἐπίσχεσις, ἐρύθημα πυρῶδες, ὅψεων ὑπολείψεις, ἰδρώτες δῆξις, ἀταξία καὶ θόρυβος ἐν τοῖς σφυγμοῖς, τέλος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ κράτος ἡττωμένης ἀπορία καὶ θάμβος καὶ ὠχρίασις.

The Ode is imitated by Catullus, li., *Ad Lesbiam* :—

ille mi par esse deo videtur,  
ille, si fas est, superare divos,  
qui sedens adversus identidem te  
spectat et audit

dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis  
eripit sensus mihi : nam simul te,  
Lesbia, adspexi, nihil est super mi  
\* \* \* \* \*

lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus  
flamma demanat, sonitu suo pte  
tintinant aures, gemina teguntur  
lumina nocte.

There are some reminiscences of the Ode in Lucretius *De Rer. Nat.* iii. 154 :—

sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto  
corpore et infringi linguam vocemque aboriri,  
caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus ;

and in Tennyson's early poems *Eleänore* and *Fatima*. Various English versions will be found in H. T. Wharton's *Sappho* (third edition), pp. 67—69 ; and some interesting matter is presented in F. Meda's tract *L' Ode Sublime di Saffo nelle principali Traduzioni*.

The enthusiasm with which the Italian scholars of the Renaissance heard of the discovery of an Ode of Sappho imbedded in the text of the *περὶ ὕψους* has had its parallels in our own day. For example, Blass was able to describe (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1880, vol. xxxv.)

some fragments—of Sappho, as he thought—discovered in the Egyptian Museum at Berlin among a number of manuscripts coming probably from the Fayyum. The fragments are too inconsiderable to add much to our knowledge of Sappho and their ascription is so doubtful as to make it safer to class them, with Bergk (*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>4</sup>, III. 704, 5), as 'Fragmenta Adespota.' But the ode recently published as Sappho's by Grenfell and Hunt after Blass's restoration (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part I. 1898) is a discovery of the first importance.

**Simonides.** Simonides of Ceos: b. 556, d. 468 B.C.

Simonides had, in a poem now lost, depicted with unequalled vividness the apparition of Achilles above the tomb as the Greeks were putting out to sea (c. xv. 7). Cp. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*<sup>4</sup>, III. 526.

**Sophocles** b. 496, d. 406.

Reference is made to the following plays:—

*Oed. T.* 1403 — *De Subl.* xxiii. 3.

*Oed. Col.* 1586 — „ xv. 7.

*Polyxena* — „ xv. 7.

For the last-named play, cp. Porphyry: (Stob. *Ecl.* i. c. 41 § 50) ὡς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Πολυξένη τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ψυχὴν εἰσάγει κ.τ.λ., and Dindorf *Aesch. et Soph. Trag. et Fragm.* p. 278 (Didot edition). As to the line quoted from Sophocles in *De Subl.* iii. 2, see under *Aeschylus*, p. 217 supra.

In xxxiii. 5 the *Oedipus (Rex)* is mentioned as an unapproachable work of art, a judgment which brings the *De Sublimitate* into line with the *Poetics*. In the same chapter and section it is said of Pindar and Sophocles that ὅτε μὲν οἶον πάντα ἐπιφλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀτυχέστατα. The eulogistic half of this sentence seems perhaps more obviously true of Pindar than of Sophocles. What instances would the author have adduced in support of the latter half? In Pindar he may have taken exception to the elaborate periphrases for somewhat homely things<sup>1</sup>. As regards Sophocles, would he have referred us to the *Antigone*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Galen, *De pulsuum differentia* (as quoted by Weiske): οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν κυρίων, ὡς ἔτυχε, μεταφέρειν ἔξεστιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ποιηταῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ Πίνδαρος τις εἴη, ὡκεανοῦ τὰ πέταλα τὰς κρήνας λέγων, οὐκ ἐπαινείται, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὴν ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χαλκεύειν γλώσσαν.



vv. 904—920, or to some lost and possibly spurious plays? Cp. Plutarch's reference (*De Recta Audiendi Ratione*, 13) to the ἀνωμαλία of Sophocles, and Dionys. Hal. (*De Vett. Script. Cens.* ii. 11) καὶ πολλάκις ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ μεγέθους εἰς διάκενον κόμπων ἐκπίπτων, οἷον εἰς ἰδιωτικὴν παντάπασι ταπεινότητα κατέρχεται.

**Stesichorus** flor. 600 B.C. Choric poet, of Himera.  
Like Archilochus, an imitator of Homer (c. xiii. 3).

**Theocritus.** Theocritus of Syracuse: flor. 280 B.C.

Theocritus is spoken of as ἐν τοῖς βουκολικοῖς πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιτυχέστατος (c. xxxiii. 4). But like Apollonius he is not to be classed with Homer.

**Theodorus.** Theodorus of Gadara; rhetorician; flor. 30 B.C. Wrote not only on rhetoric, but περὶ ἱστορίας, περὶ πολιτείας, περὶ κοίτης Συρίας. Susemihl, II. 507—511; Blass, 158; C. Hammer, *Bericht über die auf die griechischen Rhetoren und späteren Sophisten bezüglichen von Anfang 1890 bis Ende 1893 erschienenen Schriften*, ad init.

See p. 9 supra.

**Theophrastus.** Theophrastus the successor of Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic School, over which he presided from 322 to 287 B.C.

Coupled with Aristotle in c. xxxii. 3 as giving a useful hint with regard to the qualification of metaphors.

**Theopompus.** Theopompus the historian; flor. 350 B.C. Among his works were Ἑλληνικαὶ ἱστορίαι and Φιλιππικά.

Theopompus is mentioned twice in the course of the περὶ ὕψους. In c. xxxi. he is praised for his employment of a homely but effective expression (ἀναγκοφαγήσαι), while in c. xliii. we find quoted 'his description of the entry of the Great King into Egypt, beginning with magnificent tents and chariots, ending with bundles of shoe-leather and pickled meats. The critic [sc. the author of the π. ὕψ.] complains of bathos; but the passage reads like the intentional bathos of satire.' (Murray, *Ancient Greek Literature*, p. 390.)

It may be added that, according to Cicero and Suidas, Isocrates said of his two pupils Theopompus and Ephorus that the former needed the curb, the latter the spur: an antithesis which is echoed in the π. ὕψ. ii. 2.

**Thucydides** flor. 428 B.C.

An exemplar of the elevated style in history, as in other branches are Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes (c. xiv. 1). Among his characteristics are mentioned: his use of hyperbaton (xxii. 3), of the historic present (xxv.), and of hyperbole (xxxviii. 3). Of the last an illustration is quoted from his History vii. 84, where some slight verbal discrepancies between the text (as we have it) and the quotation should be noted. In the best editions of Thucydides the text runs thus: οἱ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπικαταβάντες.....ἐπίνετό τε δμοῦ τῷ πηλῷ ἡματωμένον καὶ περιμάχητον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς.

**Timaeus.** Timaeus of Tauromenium, the Sicilian historian; flor. 310 B.C. Holm, *History of Greece*, iv. 504 and 511; Susemihl, 563—583.

In c. iv. Timaeus is taxed with frigidity and bombast, and with that censoriousness which (as we know from Diod. Sic. v. 1 and Athen. vi. 103) procured him the sobriquet of Ἐπιτίμαιος. With *De Subl.* iv. 3 (τοῖς δὲ.....Ἐρμῶνος), cp. Plut. *Nic.* *Vit.* 1.

**Xenophon** flor. 400 B.C.

Passages quoted:—

<i>Hellen.</i> iv. 3, 19 (cp. <i>Ages.</i> 2, 12)— <i>De Subl.</i> xix. 1.	
<i>De Rep. Laced.</i> iii. 5	— „ iv. 4.
<i>Cyrop.</i> i. 5, 12	— „ xxviii. 3.
„ vii. 1, 37	— „ xxv.
<i>Memorab.</i> i. 4, 5	— „ xxxii. 5.
„ i. 4, 6	— „ xliii. 5.

Faults and excellences alike are illustrated by these citations. In the passage of the *De Rep. Laced.* our manuscripts give τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις (not ὀφθαλμοῖς) παρθένων. The form in which the words are quoted in the περὶ ὕψους suggests, of course, a play upon the two senses of κόρη. With the passage of the *Hellenica* cp. Voltaire *Henriade* vi. :—

François, Anglois, Lorrains, que la fureur assemble,  
Avançoient, combattoient, frappoient, mouroient ensemble.

**Zoilus.** Zoilus the grammarian; of uncertain date, say 330 B.C. Best known by the epithet Ὀμηρομάστιξ which his assaults on Homer earned him.

Zoilus described the men whom Circe turned into swine as χοιρίδια κλαίοντα (c. ix. 14).

**Scriptor Incertus.** Under this designation may conveniently be included :—

(1) The τῶν φιλοσόφων τις who in c. xlv. propounds the problem presented by λόγων κοσμική τις ἀφορία. Had this philosopher any existence in fact, was he a writer as well as a speculator, and how are we to account for the coincidence of some of his words with those of Philo? These are questions we would gladly answer if we could.

(2) The author of the line :

ἀγρὸν ἔσχ' ἐλάττω γῆν ἔχοντ' ἐπιστολῆς (c. xxxviii. 5).

Might we hazard the conjecture that this line comes from Menander's Γεωργός, in the recently recovered fragments of which allusion is made to μάλα μικρὸν γῆδιον?

(3) The author of a saying quoted in i. 2. Something similar to this saying is attributed both to Pythagoras and to Demosthenes : cp. Ael. *Var. Hist.* xii. 59, Πυθαγόρας ἔλεγε δύο ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δεδόσθαι κάλλιστα, τό τε ἀληθεύειν καὶ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν· καὶ προσετίθει ὅτι καὶ ἔοικε τοῖς θεῶν ἔργοις ἐκάτερον. Arsen. *Viol.* 189, Δημοσθένης ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἄνθρωπος ἔχει ὅμοιον θεῷ, ἔφη 'τὸ εὐεργετεῖν καὶ ἀληθεύειν.'

(4) The anonymous τεχνογράφοι quoted at the beginning of c. xii., where with αὐξησίς ἐστι, φασί, λόγος μέγεθος περιτιθεὶς τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις should be compared αὐξησίς ἐστι λόγος μείζον ποιῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, μείωσις δὲ λόγος μείον ποῖων φαίνεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα (Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, i. 457).

(5) The author of the line

ἐξῆλθον Ἑκτορές τε καὶ Σαρπήδονες

which is quoted (c. xxiii. 3) in exemplification of ἐναλλάξεις ἀριθμῶν.

(6) The author of the line

ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη (c. xxxvi. 2).

Cp. Pl. *Phaedr.* 264 c, καὶ εὐρήσεις τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος οὐδὲν διαφέροντα ὃ Μίδα τῷ Φρυγί φασί τινες ἐπιγεγράφθαι...

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμί, Μίδα δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κείμει.  
ὅφρ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε νάη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη,  
αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύτου ἐπὶ τύμβου,  
ἀγγελέω παριούσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαιπται.

(7) The author of the words *μεγάλων ἀπολισθαίνειν ὁμως εὐγενὲς ἀμάρτημα* (c. iii. 3). Cp. Plut. *Crassi Vit.* xxvi. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφιεμένους, and Ov. *Metam.* ii. 328, magnis tamen excidit ausis.

(8) The author of the lines

αὐτίκα...λαὸς ἀπείρων  
θύννον ἐπ' ἡϊόνεσσι δϋστάμενοι κελάδησαν (xxiii. 2).

(9) The author of the words *εὐπόριστον μὲν ἀνθρώποις τὸ χρεῶδες ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, θαυμαστὸν δ' ὁμως αἰετὸν τὸ παράδοξον* (xxxv. 5). Possibly, however, the words are original.

(10) The author of the words *δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς...χαλινοῦ* in ii. 2. Cp. Diog. Laert. v. 39, λέγεται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (Θεοφράστου) τε καὶ Καλλισθένους τὸ ὅμοιον εἰπεῖν Ἀριστοτέλην ὅπερ Πλάτωνα...φασὶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τε Ξενοκράτους καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου...ὥς τῷ μὲν χαλινοῦ δέοι, τῷ δὲ κέντρον. Suidas, Ἐφορος...ὁ γοῦν Ἰσοκράτης τὸν μὲν (Θεόπομπον) ἔφη χαλινοῦ δεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἐφορον κέντρον. Cp. p. 242 supra.

(11) The identification of οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ἐκεῖνοι (xxxiv. 2). 'Ἀττικούς interpretor illos, qui aetate auctoris et paulo ante docebant Attice dicere; his probabantur praeter ceteros Lysias et Hyperides,' C. Hammer. Others have taken the reference to be to the writers of the Old Attic Comedy. Cp. p. 182 supra.

**Auctor.** Such particulars with regard to the author himself (and his friend Terentianus) as are supplied by the internal evidence of the treatise will be found on pp. 11—22 supra.

**Longinus.** As the name of the historical Longinus has for so long a time been traditionally connected with the treatise, a few notes with regard to him and his writings may usefully be appended even in an edition which questions the traditional view:—

*I. Life.* Born about the year 213 A.D.; died 273 A.D. Attended the classes of the leading Neoplatonists at Alexandria. Taught for some thirty years at Athens, where he seems to have written his books. Famous as 'a living library and a walking museum' (*βιβλιοθήκη τις ἢν ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον*, Eunapius *Porphyr.*). Summoned by Queen Zenobia to Palmyra, where he instructed her in Greek letters and became her trusted counsellor and friend. Encouraged her in her resistance to Aurelian, who put him to death. [Reference may be made to Pape-Benseler's Dictionary and to the recently published *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III.*; and for fuller particulars, to Ruhnken's dissertation, published under

the name of P. J. Schardam, as well as to Cobet's remarks in *Mnemosyne N.S.* vii. 421.]

II. *Writings other than the De Sublimitate.* These may most conveniently be studied in Vaucher's *Études Critiques*. In *Hermes*, xxx. (year 1895) pp. 300 ff. will be found some discussion of οἱ φιλόλογοι or αἱ φιλόλογοι ὁμιλίας. In the φιλόλογοι ὁμιλίας there were clearly points of coincidence with the περὶ ὕψους (cp. Scholia ad Hermog. *de Id.* vi. p. 225 and vii. p. 963), lending some colour to the supposition that here if anywhere in Longinus the περὶ ὕψους must be sought for.

III. *De Sublimitate.* The chief arguments in favour of the Longinian authorship of the treatise are (a) tradition; (b) the reputation of the Palmyrene Longinus as ὁ κριτικός, and the nobility of his life and death; (c) the pervading influence of Plato in the book. The most recent statement of the conservative position is that by E. Brighentius, *De libelli περὶ ὕψους auctore dissertatio* (Patavii, 1895); and the same position is assumed by J. R. Mozley in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and supported with due reserve by W. D. Geddes in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Reference may also be made to Canna, *Della Sublimità*, pp. 35 ff.; to Vaucher, *Études Critiques*, pp. 42, 48, 55; and to Pessonneaux, *Annales etc.*, pp. 292—4. Edward Gibbon, in his *Journal* (under date September 11th, 1762) has some interesting remarks on the treatise: 'When I reflect on the age in which Longinus lived, an age which produced scarcely any other writer worthy of the attention of posterity; when real learning was almost extinct, philosophy sunk down to the quibbles of grammarians and the tricks of mountebanks, and the empire desolated by every calamity, I am amazed that at such a period, in the heart of Syria, and at the court of an Eastern monarch, Longinus should produce a work worthy of the best and freest days of Athens.'

Though he thus sees one of the difficulties involved, Gibbon did not dispute the traditional ascription, which was as yet unchallenged. He simply gave himself earnestly to the study of the work. On Sept. 12th he writes: 'I finished the first chapter of Longinus, with Boileau's translation and all the notes. The Greek is, from the figurative style and bold metaphors, extremely difficult: I am afraid that it is rather too difficult for me; but now I have entered upon it, *jacta est alea*; and I have nothing to do but to redouble my application to understand him correctly.'

## APPENDIX D.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL. WITH A GLANCE AT THE INFLUENCE  
OF THE TREATISE IN MODERN TIMES.

A full bibliography is a necessary adjunct of any modern edition which aims at completeness, and this is more than ever true when such a bibliography is likely to throw considerable light upon the influence and currency of the book edited. The literature which has gathered round the *De Sublimitate* may conveniently be presented, in chronological order, under the two headings: I. Editions and Translations, II. Occasional and Periodical Publications.

## I. EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

## XVIth Century.

It is natural that in the sixteenth century Italian scholars should head the list: they were the best equipped, they had ready access to Greek manuscripts in the libraries of Italy, and by printing the *περὶ ὑψους* they were ministering to that interest in the literary style of the ancients which had been fostered by the striking growth of their own national literature, and by the example and precepts of their great countrymen Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. The *editio princeps* of the *περὶ ὑψους* is, therefore, due to an Italian, **F. Robortello**. It appeared at Basle in 1554. Its title-page is as follows: Διονυσίου Λογγίνου ῥήτορος περὶ ὑψους βιβλίον. *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi sive sublimi orationis genere. Nunc primum a Francisco Robortello Utinensi in lucem editus eiusdemque annotationibus latinis in margine apposis, quae instar commentariorum sunt, illustratus. nam ex iis methodus tota libri, et ordo quaestionum, de quibus agitur, omnisque ratio praeceptionum, et alia multa cognosci possunt. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum.* In his dedication Robortello again calls attention to the fact that the work was previously unknown: *opus hoc redivivum, antea ignotum, opera industriae sua e tenebris in lucem eductum atque expolitum.*

The second issue followed closely on the first. It was that of **Paulus Manutius**, Venice, 1555. Διονυσίου Λογγίνου περὶ ὑψους λόγον. *Dionysii Longini de sublimi genere dicendi. In quo cum*

*alia multa praeclare sunt emendata, tum veterum poetarum versus, qui, confusi commixtique cum oratione soluta, minus intelligentem lectorem fallere poterant, notati atque distincti. Apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi F., Venetiis, 1555.* The reference to the inconvenience of printing poetry as prose seems to be suggested by what Robortello had done the year before. There is little doubt that Manutius printed from the Codex Venetus. About Robortello's source there is more uncertainty; most probably it was one of the inferior copies of P 2036, either the Mediolanensis or (possibly) the Cantabrigiensis. A feature in Robortello's edition is his marginal analysis (in Latin), which is designed to serve as a kind of running commentary, and does not preclude an occasional address to the Reader.

The next edition (Geneva, 1569) is that of **F. Portus**, a Cretan, who was Professor of Greek in the University of Geneva. *Οἱ ἐν τῇ ῥητορικῇ τέχνῃ κορυφαῖοι Ἀφθώνιος, Ἑρμογένης, Δ. Δόγγινος. Aphthonius, Hermogenes, et Dionysius Longinus, praestantissimi artis rhetorices magistri, Francisci Porti Cretensis opera industriaque illustrati atque expoliti. Anchora Ioannis Crispi, M.D.LXIX.* The separate title-page of the *περὶ ὕψους* agrees partly with that of Robortello and partly with that of Manutius.

To the sixteenth century also belongs a Latin translation: *Dionysii Longini De sublimi dicendi genere. Liber a P. Pagano latinitate donatus. Venetiis, 1572.*

### XVIIth Century.

In the seventeenth century appeared the following editions and translations:—

**Gabriel de Petra.** *Διονυσίου Δογγίνου περὶ ὕψους λόγου βιβλίον. Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi De grandi sive sublimi genere orationis. Latine redditus, ὑποθέσει συνοπτικαῖς et ad oram notationibus aliquot illustratus a Gab. de Petra, Professore Graeco in Academia Lausannensi. Geneva, 1612.*

**G. Langbaine.** *Διονυσίου Δογγίνου ῥήτορος περὶ ὕψους λόγου βιβλίον. Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber De grandi loquentia sive sublimi dicendi genere Latine redditus.....Edendum curavit, et notarum insuper auctarium adjunxit G. L. Oxonii, 1636.*

**Anonymous.** *Dionysii Longini rhetoris praestantissimi liber de grandi sive sublimi dicendi genere orationis. A Latin translation*

forming part of: *Degli autori del ben parlare.....opere diverse. Ven., 1643.*

**C. Manolesius.** *Dionysii Longini Graeci Rhetoris de sublimi genere dicendi libellus, nunc ultimo accurata ac triplici in Latinum expositione (G. de Petra, D. Pizimentii, P. Pagani) emissus, et luculenta praelectione illustratus, cura ac diligentia Caroli Manolesii Bibliopolae. Bononiae, 1644.*

**John Hall.** *Περὶ ὕψους, or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence rendred out of the originall by J. H. Esq. London, 1652.* [The first sentence in Hall's translation runs thus: 'When you and I (my dear Posthumius Terentianus) had together perused (as you remember) Cecilius his book of Height, methought, besides that it was not carried on with a greatnesse proportionate to the subject, it blanchd many unnecessary (? necessary) points, and requited not the Reader with that profit which every diligent Writer ought principally to endeavour.']

**Tanaquil Faber.** *Dionysii Longini philosophi et rhetoris Περὶ ὕψους libellus, cum notis, emendationibus, et praefatione T. Fabri. Salmurii, 1663.*

**Boileau.** *Διονυσίου Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους βιβλίον. Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours. Traduit du grec de Longin. Paris, 1674.* In the eighteenth century alone this famous volume was reprinted more than a dozen times. The following are only some of the years in which issues of it have appeared: 1674, 1677, 1683, 1685, 1689, 1694, 1695, 1701, 1702, 1714, 1716, 1718, 1729, 1740, 1746, 1747, 1768, 1772, etc.

**J. Pulteney.** *A Treatise of the Loftiness or Elegancy of Speech. Written originally in Greek by Longin; and now translated out of French by Mr J. P. London, 1680.*

**J. Toll.** *Διονυσίου Λογγίνου Περὶ ὕψους καὶ τᾶλλα εὐρισκόμενα. Dionysii Longini De Sublimitate commentarius, ceteraque quae reperiri potuere.....Jacobus Tollius e quinque codicibus MSS. emendavit, et F. Robortelli, F. Porti, G. de Petra, G. Langbaenii et T. Fabri notis integris suas subjecit, novamque versionem suam Latinam, et Gallicam Boilavii, cum ejusdem, ac Dacierii, suisque notis Gallicis addidit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1694.*

**Anonymous.** *An Essay upon Sublime. Translated from the Greek of Dionysius Longinus Cassius the Rhetorician. Compared with the French of the Sieur Despréaux Boileau. Oxford, 1698.*



## XVIIIth Century.

**J. Hudson.** Διονυσίου Λογγίνου Περὶ Ὑψους Βιβλίον. *Dionysii Longini De Sublimitate libellus, cum praefatione de vita et scriptis Longini, notis, indicibus, et variis lectionibus.* Oxoniae, 1710.

**Welsted.** *The Works of Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime: or, a treatise concerning the sovereign perfection of writing. Translated from the Greek, with some remarks on the English Poets, by Mr Welsted.* London, 1712.

**P. Le Clercq.** *D. Longinus: Verhandeling over de Verhevenheit en Deftigheid des Styls.....In het Nederduitsch vertaalt door P. Le Clercq.* Te Amsteldam, 1719.

**Z. Pearce.** Διονυσίου Λογγίνου Περὶ Ὑψους Ὑπόμνημα. *Dionysii Longini De Sublimitate commentarius, quem nova versione donavit, perpetuis notis illustravit, plurimisque in locis.....emendavit, additis etiam omnibus ejusdem auctoris fragmentis, Z. Pearce.* Londini, 1724. A beautiful Foulis edition of this work of Pearce was published, at Glasgow, in 1751: Τὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους ὑπόμνημα. *Ex editione tertia Zachariae Pearce, Episcopi Bangoriensis, expressum.*

**Hudson. Gori. Boileau.** Διονυσίου Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους βιβλίον Ἑλληνιστὶ συγγραφθὲν, εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν, Ἰταλικὴν, καὶ Γαλλικὴν φωνὴν μεταφρασθὲν, σὺν σχολίοις. *Dionysii Longini de Sublimi libellus Graece conscriptus; Latino, Italico, et Gallico sermone redditus, additis adnotationibus.* Veronae, 1733. The Latin version is by Hudson, the Italian by Gori, the French by Boileau.

**Portus. Wetstein.** Διονυσίου Λογγίνου Περὶ Ὑψους Ὑπόμνημα. *Dionysii Longini De Sublimitate commentarius, quem nova versione donavit, perpetuis notis illustravit, et.....emendavit..... Z. Pearce.....Editio tertia. Accessit F. Porti Cretensis in Longinum commentarius integer, nunc primum editus [by H. Wetstein].* Amstelædami, 1733.

**A. F. Gori.** *Trattato del Sublime di Dionisio Longino. Tradotto dal Greco in Toscano da A. F. Gori.* Firenze, 1737. [Other issues of Gori have been: *Terza edizione, di note accresciuta.* Bologna, 1748.—*L' Aureo Trattato di Dionisio Longino intorno al Sublime Modo di Parlare e di Scrivere.* Tradotto dal Greco da A. F. Gori. Venezia, 1782.—*Di Dionisio Longino Trattato del Sublime.* Tradotto

...da A. F. Gori. *Con note antiche e nuove*. Bologna, 1821.—This Italian translation, like the French version of Boileau, has in fact been reprinted again and again. The same is true of the English rendering which follows next on the list, that of W. Smith.]

**W. Smith.** *Dionysius Longinus On the Sublime. Translated from the Greek with notes and observations, and some account of the life, writings and character of the author, by W. Smith*. London, 1739.

**S. F. N. Morus.** *Dionysius Longinus De Sublimitate ex recensione Z. Pearcii. Animadversiones interpretum excerpit, suas et novam versionem adjecit S. F. N. Morus*. Lipsiae, 1769.

**Oliveira.** *Dionysio Longino Tratado do Sublime. Traduzido da Lingua Grega na Portugueza por Custodio José de Oliveira*. Lisboa, 1771.

**J. Toup.** *Dionysii Longini quae supersunt, Graece et Latine. Recensuit, notasque suas atque animadversiones adjecit Johannes Toupius. Accedunt emendationes Davidis Ruhnkenii*. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano: 1778. This volume contains also the *Dissertatio Philologica de Vita et Scriptis Longini* which was written by **Ruhnken**, but issued under the name of P. J. Schardam.

**J. G. Schlosser.** *Longin vom Erhabenen. Mit Anmerkungen und einem Anhang von J. G. Schlosser*. Leipzig, 1781. A German translation with some notes and an appendix.

**Bodoni.** *Διονυσίου Λογγίνου περὶ Ὑψους. Parmae in aedibus Palatinis. Typis Bodonianis*. 1793. This is a beautifully printed and most sumptuous edition, with Greek text and Latin translation.

#### XIXth Century.

**B. Weiske.** *Dionysii Longini De Sublimitate, Graece et Latine. Denuo recensuit et animadversionibus virorum doctorum aliisque subsidiis instruxit B. Weiske*. Lipsiae, 1809.—In the English edition published in 1820 the most important part of this book—the contribution made by **Amati** to the elucidation of the problem of the authorship—is omitted.

**Filinto Elysio** (pseudonym of **Francisco Manoel do Nascimento**). *Obras Completas de Filinto Elysio. Tomo XIº, pp. 298—387, Tratado do Sublime de Longino: traduzido*. Paris, 1819.

**G. Miller.** Διονυσίου Λογγίνου περὶ ὑψους. *Dionysii Longini de Sublimitate commentarius.* Dublin, 1820 (second edition).

**Anonymous.** *A Literal Translation of Longinus on the Sublime. By a Graduate of Trinity College, Dublin.* Dublin, 1821.

**Kowalewski.** *Longina o Górnosci: przekładał z Greckiego Józef Kowalewski.* w Wilnie, 1823.

**Anonymous.** *Longinus on the Sublime. A new translation, chiefly according to the improved edition of Weiske.....By a Master of Arts of the University of Oxford.* London, 1830.

**W. T. Spurdens.** *Longinus on the Sublime in Writing. Translated with notes, original and selected, and three dissertations.* London, 1836.

**D. B. Hickie.** *Dionysius Longinus on the Sublime: chiefly from the text of Weiske.* London, 1838.

**A. E. Egger.** *Longini quae supersunt. Graece. Post edit. Lipsiensem a. MDCCCIX aucta et emendata.* Parisiis, 1837.

**L. Spengel.** *Rhetores Graeci.* Lipsiae, 1853. Contains the text of the Περὶ Ὑψους in the same volume (vol. 1.) as Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.

**G. M. A. Pujol.** *Traité du Sublime de Longin. Traduction nouvelle avec le texte grec en regard et des notes.* Toulouse, 1853.

**L. Vaucher.** *Études critiques sur le Traité du Sublime et sur les écrits de Longin.* Genève, 1854.

**Otto Jahn.** Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου περὶ Ὑψους. *De Sublimitate libellus. In usum scholarum edidit O. Jahn.* Bonnae, 1867.

**T. R. R. Stebbing.** *Longinus on the Sublime.* Oxford, 1867. A translation with occasional notes.

**H. A. Giles.** *Longinus. An Essay on the Sublime. Translated by H. A. Giles.* London, 1870.

**G. Canna.** *Della Sublimità: libro attribuito a Cassio Longino. Tradotto da Giovanni Canna.* Firenze, 1871.

**M. J. Moreno.** *Tratado de la Sublimidad traducido fielmente del Griego de Dionisio Casio Longino: con notas históricas, críticas y biográficas, y con ejemplos sublimes Castellanos comparados con los Griegos citados por Longino.* Sevilla, 1882.

**J. Vahlen.** Διονυσίου ἡ Λογγίνου περὶ ὕψους: edidit Otto Iahn a. MDCCCLXVII: iterum edidit a. MDCCCLXXXVII Ioannes Vahlen. Bonnae.

**Henry Morley.** *Longinus on the Sublime. With an introduction by H. Morley.* 1889. Cassell's National Library, vol. 179.

**H. L. Havell.** *Longinus on the Sublime: translated into English. With an introduction by Andrew Lang.* London, 1890.

**E. Janzon.** *De Sublimitate Libellus in patrium sermonem conversus adnotationibusque instructus.* Upsaliae, 1894.

**C. Hammer.** *Rhetores Graeci ex recognitione Leonardi Spengel.* Vol. I. pars II. Edidit C. Hammer. Lipsiae, 1894.

**G. Meinel.** *Dionysios oder Longinos, Ueber das Erhabene. Uebersetzt und mit kritischen und exegetischen Bemerkungen versehen von G. Meinel.* Kempten, 1895.

In addition to the above editions and translations, the present editor has had the advantage of consulting, in the Library of the British Museum, MS. notes by **Isaac Casaubon** (in a copy of Robortello's edition, 1554), by **Richard Bentley** (in F. Portus' edition, 1569: Bentley mentions on the title-page that he had collated this edition with Robortello's and also with 'codice M<sup>sto</sup> quem commodavit Joh. Moore Episc. Norvicensis,' the manuscript he thus refers to being without doubt the Eliensis: further on, in the margin ad loc., Bentley enters his own well-known emendation—'leg. ἀπαστράπτει'), by **A. Dacier** (in the Greek-and-French edition of Boileau, 1694), and by **Charles Burney** (in the editions of Pearce 1752, of Morus 1769, and of Toup 1778).

## II. OCCASIONAL AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

### XVIIIth Century.

**Jean Boivin de Villeneuve.** *Remarques sur Longin: par Monsieur Boivin, Garde de la Bibliothèque du Roy.* Paris, 1700.

**Schurzfleisch.** *C. S. Schurzfleischii animadversiones ad Dionysii Longini Περὶ Ὑψους commentationem.* Vitembergae, 1711.

**Berger.** *J. G. Bergeri de naturali pulchritudine orationis ad excelsam Longini disciplinam.....commentarius.* Lipsiae, 1720.

**Perrault.** *Réponse aux réflexions critiques de Mr. Despréaux sur Longin. Par M. Perrault. Vol. I. pp. 471—516 of Mélanges curieux des meilleures pièces attribuées à Mr. de Saint-Evremond, et de quelques autres ouvrages rares ou nouveaux. Amsterdam, 1726.*

**J. Holmes.** *The Art of Rhetoric made easy: or, the Elements of Oratory. Being the substance of Dionysius Longinus's celebrated Treatise of the Sublime wrote in Greek about the year of Christ 278. With proper examples, ancient and modern. London, 1739.*

**E. B. Greene.** *Critical Essays: the first of which is Observations on the Sublime of Longinus with Examples of Modern Writers as of the Holy Scriptures to illustrate the several Figures remarked throughout the Work. London, 1770.*

**R. Robinson.** *Indices...vorum fere omnium quae occurrunt in Dionysii Longini commentario De Sublimitate, etc. Oxonii, 1772.*

**P. J. Schardam.** *Dissertatio philologica de vita et scriptis Longini. (See p. 251 supra.)*

#### XIXth Century.

**Boissonade.** Article Longin in *Biographie Universelle* XXIV. pp. 666—670 (year 1819).

**Knox.** *Remarks on the supposed Dionysius Longinus; with an attempt to restore the Treatise on Sublimity to its original state. London, 1826.*

**Anonymous.** *The Greek Philosophy of Taste. Edinburgh Review, September, 1831. Vol. LIV. pp. 39—69.*

**J. Spongberg.** *De Commentario Dionysii Casii Longini περί ὑψους expositio. Upsaliae, 1833.*

**J. Naudet.** *Longini quae supersunt, etc. in Journal des Savants, Mars 1838, pp. 147—154.*

**G. Roeper.** *Zur Bestimmung der Abfassungszeit der Schrift περί ὑψους in Philologus, 1846, I. pp. 630, 631.*

**G. Buchenau.** *De Scriptorum Libri περί ὑψους. Marburgi Cattorum, 1849.*

**A. E. Egger.** *Longin est-il véritablement l'auteur du Traité du Sublime? In the first edition of Egger's Essai sur l'histoire de la critique chez les Grecs (Paris, 1849), pp. 524—533.*

**S. A. Cumanudes.** *Specimen Emendationum in Longinum Apsinem Menandrum Aristidem aliosque artium scriptores.* Athenis, 1854.

**L. Kayser.** *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 1854, LXX. pp. 271—296. 'L. Spengel: Rhetores Graeci. Vol. 1.'

**Nolte.** *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1854, pp. 302—4, 447—8, 464.

**Schück.** *Commentarii περὶ ὕψους argumentum.* Breslau, 1855.

**L. B. des Francs.** *Utrum Dionysio Longino adscribendus sit liber qui Περὶ Ὑψους inscribitur.* Gratianopoli, 1862.

**Aem. Winkler.** *De Longini qui fertur libello Περὶ Ὑψους.* Halis, 1870.

**M. Haupt.** *Ind. lect. in Univ. Litt. Frid. Guil. habend.* Berolini, 1870. Reprinted in Haupt's *Opuscula*, II. pp. 428—433.

**M. Schmidt.** *Rheinisches Museum N. F.*, 1872, XXVII. pp. 481—483. 'Eine Dekade Conjekturen.'

**H. von Rohden.** *Quas rationes in hiatus vitando scriptor de Sublimitate et Onesander secuti sint.* Forming a part of *Commentationes in honorem Francisci Buecheleri Hermanni Useneri.* Bonnae, 1873.

**Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.** *Hermes*, 1876, x. pp. 334—346. 'In libellum Περὶ Ὑψους conjectanea.'

**L. Martens.** *De libello Περὶ Ὑψους*, Bonnae, 1877.

**H. Diels.** *Hermes*, 1878, XIII. pp. 5, 6, 'Atacta.'

**A. Reifferscheid.** *Ind. Schol. in Univ. Litt. Vratisl. habend.*, Vrat., 1879.

**A. Jannarakis.** *Εἰς τὸ Περὶ Ὑψους λεγόμενον βιβλίον Κριτικαὶ Σημειώσεις.* Marburgi Cattorum, 1880.

**J. Vahlen.** *Ind. lect. in Univ. Litt. Frid. Guil. habend.* Berolini, 1880.

**Erwin Rohde.** *Rheinisches Museum N. F.*, 1880, XXXV. pp. 309—312. 'Zu der Schrift Περὶ Ὑψους.'

**M. Hertz.** *Ind. lect. in Univ. Litt. Vratislav. habend.* Vrat., 1881.

**C. G. Cobet.** *Mnemosyne N. S.*, 1882, x. pp. 319—323, 'De locis nonnullis apud Longinum περὶ ὕψους.'

**R. Pessonneaux.** *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, 1883, v. pp. 291—303. 'De l'auteur du Traité du Sublime.'

**H. Hersel.** *Qua in citandis scriptorum et poetarum locis auctor libelli Περὶ Ὑψους usus sit ratione.* Berlin, 1884.

**F. Buecheler.** *Rheinisches Museum N. F.*, 1884, xxxix. pp. 274, 5. 'Coniectanea.'

**A. E. Egger.** *Journal des Savants*, 1884, pp. 246—257. 'Publications Récentes sur Plutarque.'

**M. Rothstein.** *Hermes*, 1887, xxii. pp. 535—546. 'In libellum de Sublimitate coniectanea critica.'

**J. B. Bury.** *Classical Review*, 1887, i, pp. 300—302. 'Dionysios or Longinos on Sublimity of Style.'

**B. Coblenz.** *De libelli Περὶ Ὑψους auctore.* Argentorati, 1888.

**M. Rothstein.** *Hermes*, 1888, xxiii. pp. 1—20. 'Caecilius von Kalakte und die Schrift vom Erhabenen.'

**T. Hultsch.** *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, 1890, cxli. pp. 369, 370. 'Zum Anonymus Περὶ Ὑψους.'

**O. Immisch.** *Rheinisches Museum N. F.*, 1893, xlviii. pp. 512—528. 'Ein sophokleischer Vers und das Urtheil über Klitarchs Stil in der Schrift vom Erhabenen.'

**E. Brighentius.** *De libelli Περὶ Ὑψους auctore dissertatio.* Patavii, 1895.

**F. Nicolini.** *Adnotationes in Longini Περὶ Ὑψους libellum.* Catinae, 1896.

**Robinson Ellis.** *Hermathena*, 1896, xxii. pp. 385—388. 'Notes on Longinus Περὶ Ὑψους.'

**J. Freytag.** *De Anonymi Περὶ Ὑψους sublimi genere dicendi.* Hildesheim, 1897.

**W. Schmid.** *Rheinisches Museum N. F.*, 1897, lii. p. 446. 'Zwei Vermuthungen zu der Schrift Περὶ Ὑψους.'

**J. C. Vollgraff.** *Mnemosyne N. S.*, 1898, xxvii. pp. 123, 124. 'Μωϋσῆς ὁ προφήτης καὶ νομοθέτης.'

**T. G. Tucker.** *Classical Review*, 1898, xii. pp. 23—27. 'Various Emendations.'

To this list may be added the following articles by the present editor:—

**American Journal of Philology**, 1897, vol. XVIII. 3, pp. 302—312. 'Caecilius of Calacte: a contribution to the history of Greek Literary Criticism.'

**Journal of Hellenic Studies**, 1897, vol. XVII. Part 1, pp. 176—188. 'The Greek Treatise on the Sublime: its Modern Interest.'

**Journal of Hellenic Studies**, 1897, vol. XVII. Part 2, pp. 189—211. 'The Greek Treatise on the Sublime: its Authorship.'

**Classical Review**, 1897, vol. XI. pp. 431—436. 'The Quotation from *Genesis* in the *De Sublimitate*.'

**Classical Review**, 1898, vol. XII. pp. 299—301. 'Note on a Cambridge Manuscript of the *De Sublimitate*.'

**Classical Review**, 1899, vol. XIII. pp. 12—14. 'The Text of the *De Sublimitate*.'

Besides the above editions and other publications, all of which have been consulted during the preparation of this edition, there are other writings (chiefly translations) connected with the *Περὶ Ὑψους* which have not been accessible. Of these the authors' names in chronological order are: Tanneguy le Fèvre (Saumur, 1633); Pinelli (Patavii, 1639); Heineken (Dresdae, 1737); Valderrabano (Madrid, 1770); Henke (Halis Saxonum, 1774); Lancelot (Ratisbonne, 1775); G. Winter (Lipsiae, 1789); Blanti (1802); Glyky (Venice, 1805); Fiocchi (Vigebiani, 1812); Siegenbeck (Leyden, 1819); Accio (Mediolani, 1830); Tipaldo (Venice, 1834). The translation by Glyky is in Modern Greek; and there is also said to be a Russian version. Egger (*Histoire de la Critique chez les Grecs*<sup>3</sup>, p. 432) tells us that he knows of two unpublished French renderings. Another translation never published is that of Andrew Dudith made as early as 1570.

If proof were needed of the vogue and popularity of the treatise, it would be found in the fact that it has been translated into as many as twelve languages,—into Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, Dutch, Swedish, Polish, Russian, and Modern Greek. In some of these languages there exist several versions, of which some have been reprinted time after time.

Of Italy it has been said that 'before the end of the sixteenth century Greek had almost ceased to be studied there....All that was



virile in humanism fled beyond the Alps<sup>1</sup>. But to the *Περὶ Ὑψους*, a work of literary criticism addressed to a Roman, the tribute of repeated translation has been paid by Italy, itself the birthplace of modern literary criticism. The latest Italian version is the excellent one in which Canina shows that the proverb 'traduttore traditore' does not always hold good. In Spain, which may be coupled with Italy, there is the even more recent version of Moreno, not to mention previous translations into Portuguese<sup>2</sup>.

In France the great popularity of Boileau's translation made the treatise generally known. But it may be doubted whether the work has not suffered somewhat from its close association with the name of Boileau. Boileau's outlook was not a wide one. Neither as a scholar nor as a man of letters could he do full justice to the *De Sublimitate*, and it was as unfortunate as it was unjust that the treatise should come in any way to be identified with the formal and absolute in literature. One of its most marked characteristics is its exaltation of the freedom of the spirit. To this it owes a freshness which belongs exclusively neither to the 'Ancients' nor to the 'Moderns' but is perennial. In France Boileau's version still holds its ground, and it is possible that its prestige has discouraged attempts to produce a more exact translation. Be the reason what it may, France has during the present century contributed less to the elucidation of the treatise than might have been expected from a country of her literary gifts and scholarly tastes<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, II. 543 (First Edition).

<sup>2</sup> An account of the leading features of the treatise has lately been given, from the Spanish standpoint, by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*, pp. 90—101 (edition of 1883).

<sup>3</sup> The translation of the treatise by Boileau, and remarks and reflexions by himself and other writers, will be found in vols. III. and IV. of M. de Saint-Marc's edition of the *Œuvres de M. Boileau Despréaux*.—Boileau's own *Esthétique* is characterised by M. Ferdinand Brunetière in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1889, pp. 662—685. Reference may also be made to the same writer's *L'Évolution des Genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*, cc. iii. and iv.—A suggestive comparison between the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and the *De Sublimitate* is drawn by Fénelon in his *Premier Dialogue sur l'Éloquence*: 'Cette Rhétorique, quoique très belle, a beaucoup de préceptes secs et plus curieux qu'utiles dans la pratique; ainsi elle sert bien plus à faire remarquer les règles de l'art à ceux qui sont déjà éloquents, qu'à inspirer l'éloquence et à former de vrais orateurs: mais le Sublime de Longin joint aux préceptes beaucoup d'exemples qui les rendent sensibles. Cet auteur traite le sublime d'une manière sublime, comme le traducteur (sc. Boileau) l'a

Germany, though late in the field, has (through its scholars) devoted much attention to the treatise. This is more particularly true of the latter half of the present century: in the earlier half less was accomplished. In the scientific treatment of the Greek text of the *De Sublimitate* German scholarship easily holds the foremost place; no other country has approached it. But it is worthy of note that translations of the book have been far rarer in Germany than in Italy, France, or England. The more or less professional interest taken in it by scholars does not seem to have been shared by a wider circle; and this indifference has not been without its ill effects upon scholars themselves, who have been apt to forget that the subject has its literary as well as its scientific side. In fact, it may perhaps be regarded as a weakness in Germany generally that interest in literature as literature, in style as style, is not more widely diffused. This may be partly explained by the fact that literary criticism has in Germany—the country where literature arrived late, during a period of reflexion and reason, and among a speculative people—been always intimately allied with philosophical criticism. So much is this the case that German scholars of the first rank (Theodor Mommsen being a conspicuous exception) have found it difficult to forgive the *De Sublimitate* because it is less philosophical than literary. And when a German scholar comes to treat of the attitude of the ancients in general towards literature, it is natural for him to write a *Geschichte der Theorie der Kunst bei den Alten*, whereas a French scholar, covering practically the same field, will entitle his book an *Essai sur l'histoire de la critique chez les Grecs*<sup>1</sup>. Even Schiller, if he produces a tract on the Sublime (his *Ueber das Erhabene*), casts it in a philosophical mould. When Edmund Burke, as a young man, issues his *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Lessing proposes to translate it into German<sup>2</sup>. And into German it

remarqué; il échauffe l'imagination, il élève l'esprit du lecteur, il lui forme le goût, et lui apprend à distinguer judicieusement le bien et le mal dans les orateurs célèbres de l'antiquité.'—What Fénelon says as to the inspiring nature of the book may be illustrated by the experience of Charles James Fox: 'I once heard him say that he was so idle at Eton that he verily believes he should have made but little comparative progress in the Greek language, had it not been for the intense pleasure he received on his first taking up Longinus,' C. C. Colton, *Lacon*, II. 88.

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Müller and Émile Egger respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Émile Grucker, *Histoire des doctrines littéraires et esthétiques en Allemagne*. Vol. II.: Lessing, p. 159.

is duly translated, though not by Lessing himself<sup>1</sup>. It is more than possible that England has lost by her neglect of *aesthetic* since Burke's time, but it is also quite possible that Germany might gain by paying more attention to the precepts, empirical though the study may be termed, of literary criticism in the narrower sense<sup>2</sup>.

Burke's *Sublime and Beautiful* has no manner of connexion with the *De Sublimitate*, if indeed it contains a single reference to it. But its title has added to the confusion which already attended the use of the term *sublime* as an English representative of a Latin original. It is remarkable that Macaulay, in one of his earlier essays, should seem to base an attack upon a quibble of this kind. 'From Longinus we learn only that sublimity means height or elevation (*ἀκρότης καὶ ἐξοχή τις λόγων ἐστὶ τὰ ὕψη*). This name, so commodiously vague, is applied indifferently to the noble prayer of Ajax in the *Iliad*, and to a passage of Plato about the human body, as full of conceits as an ode of Cowley. Having no fixed standard, Longinus is right only by accident. He is rather a fancier than a critic<sup>3</sup>. But Macaulay was hard to satisfy. In the same essay he dismisses the plays of Euripides as 'inexhaustible mines of commonplaces,' a hasty judgment which he lived to repent<sup>4</sup>. And if he gives no quarter to Longinus, neither does he give any to Edmund Burke or Dugald Stewart. 'The origin of the sublime is one of the most curious and interesting subjects of inquiry that can occupy the attention of a critic. In our own country it has been discussed with great ability, and I think with very little success, by Burke and Dugald Stewart<sup>5</sup>.'

By a singular coincidence of dates, the first critical treatise in the English language (Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*) was published in 1553, a year before the reappearance (through Robortello's edition) of the last great work of literary criticism bequeathed to the modern world by Greek antiquity. Traces of the influence of the *De Sublimitate* are thus not to be expected in Wilson's book, but they are absent also from the works of the later Elizabethan critics, such as Sidney,

<sup>1</sup> A German translation appeared in 1773. The *Laocoon* was published in 1766, nine or ten years after Burke's treatise.

<sup>2</sup> In England the province of aesthetic has lately been occupied by Bosanquet's *History of Æsthetic* and Knight's *Philosophy of the Beautiful*, while contributions have been made to the history of literary criticism in J. Churton Collins' *Study of English Literature*, C. E. Vaughan's *English Literary Criticism*, and W. B. Worsfold's *Principles of Criticism*.

<sup>3</sup> *Works of Lord Macaulay*, VII. p. 662.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 661.    <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 662.

Webbe, and Puttenham. Nor does any mention of the Greek treatise occur in Ben Jonson's *Discoveries*.

The *De Sublimitate* was, however, edited by an Englishman as early as the year 1636; and it was translated into English in 1652, some twenty years before Boileau's version appeared in France<sup>1</sup>. This last point is important because it is often assumed that the *De Sublimitate* came to England by way of France. It is true, however, that in England, as well as in France, the influence of Boileau did much to popularise the treatise. Both the translator and the translated find a place in Pope's capacious gallery of critics, which includes Aristotle, Horace, Dionysius, Petronius, Quintilian, Longinus, Erasmus, Vida, Boileau. The days of Boileau and of Pope were the great days of the treatise. It was honoured, strangely enough, at a time and amid influences which might have seemed alien to its spirit. In our own century it has fallen upon days of neglect, in England no less than in France. To Pope and Boileau we must therefore revert for a worthy epilogue. It was the preface to Boileau's translation that suggested the last line in Pope's well-known tribute to Longinus:—

Thee, bold Longinus! all the Nine inspire,  
And bless their critic with a poet's fire.  
An ardent judge, who zealous in his trust,  
With warmth gives sentence, yet is always just:  
Whose own example strengthens all his laws;  
And is himself that great sublime he draws.

Pope had in his mind the historical Longinus of the third century; but whatever the right view as to the authorship may be, the eulogy pronounced in the concluding words will not be considered extravagant if the term 'sublime' be understood to indicate that elevation which distinguishes the treatise (and its author) from its first page to its last.

<sup>1</sup> Milton, it need hardly be explained, used the Greek original. Towards the end of his *Tractate of Education* (first published in 1644) he has the following passage: 'And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well-couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric, taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.'



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## III. INDEX GRAECITATIS

The thick Arabic numerals refer to a special treatment of the word in question.

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